OF GIFTS AND OFFICES IN THE Publick Worship of GOD.

A Treatise in Three Parts.

Endeavouring an Impartial Account,
What was in the *Inspired Age* of the Church.
What succeeded in the more *Ordinary State*.
What reasonably may be allowed now,

In { Prayer. Singing. Preaching.

Designed to make People more Sober, Regular and Serious in PUBLICK WORSHIP.

EDWARD WETENHALL *D.D.*
Chanter of Christ-Church, Dublin.

DUBLIN,
Printed by *Benjamin Tooke*, Printer to the KING's most Excellent Majesty.
M. DC. LXXIX.

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BRITAN
NICVM

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REVERENDISSIMIS

IN

CHRISTO PATRIBUS,

Dominis Præſulibuſque Ampliſſimis,

D. GUILHELMO Archiepiſcopo *Cantuarienſi*, Totius ANGLIÆ Primati & *METROPOLITANO*, &c.

D. MICHAELI Archiepiſcopo *Dublinienſi*, HIBERNIÆ Primati, & ſummo ibidem D. Cancellario, &c.

Eccleſiarum

Situ (heu! nimiò) Diverſarum,

Fide Ipſiſſimarum,

Fulgentiſſimis *STELLIS*,

Præſidibus Oculatiſſimis, Cordatiſſimis, Meritiſſimis,

Auſpicibus *ANGELIS* ter maximis;

Tri-

Tripartitam hanc (qualem qualem)

De

Charismatis Officiisq; Liturgicis

Commentationem,

Non quòd par sit His vel Patronis vel Lectoribus,

Sed ut insigniori, nec opinando Ambitionis Nisu,

E Tenebris, ipsam alioqui Male Pressuris,

Feliciter Asserta,

A Tantis Nominibus Lumen hauriat & Splendorem,

Summo in *Matrem* Ecclesiam Studio & Pietate,

Summâ in Optimos *Patres* Observantiâ & Cultu,

Eâq; demum, qua scripserat Parhrhesiâ,

Ingenuâ, quantumvis Audenti,

V. D. M. Q. C.

Edvardus Wetenhall.

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ACCOUNT

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mon

mon *each* Holy day: *how it may easily be don*
8. *The* particular mischiefs *consequent upo*
more scarcity of preaching: the first. 9. *T*
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to Preachers *and* People.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN stead of further Preface or Epistle to th
Reader, the Reader is desired to perus
the *Review* in the end of the Third Dis
course.

OF THE
GIFT
OF
PRAYER.

1 Cor. XIV.

Προσεύξομαι τῷ Πνεύματι, προσεύξομαι δὲ καὶ τῷ νοΐ.

Theodoret apud Oecumenium.

Πνεῦμα, τὸ πνευματικὸν χάρισμα λέγει.

S. *Chryſoſtom* in 1 Cor. Homil. 35.

Καὶ γὰρ ἔσται τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ χάρισμα Ἐυχῆς ἐχούσης πολλὴν μετὰ γλώττης· καὶ ἐυχοίμὰν, καὶ ᾄσω γλώττῃ ἐφθέγξατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ ἐυχομάιν, νῦς δ' οὐκ ἔδει τὸ λεγόμενον.

Quidam ſolâ Novitate gaudent, atque ut ſtatim Novitas eſſe deſiit, nauſeant. Quo genere hominum, cùm in rebus cæteris nihil eſt moleſtiùs, tum in rebus ſacris ſunt moleſtiſſimi & intolerabiles: quamquam ut rumpar irâ, ferre illos cogor, niſi velim & Evangelium ipſum è medio tollere. Luther *in Præfat. Form. Miſs. & Commun. pro Eccleſ.* Wittenberg.

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OF THE

GIFT

OF

PRAYER.

To the Learned and truly Venerable,

Dr. RICHARD BUSBY,

My ever Honoured Master.

SIR,

I *Have oftentimes in ſecret reproached my ſelf of ingratitude, in that I never yet in any of thoſe things, which I expoſed to the World, have made publick acknowledgment how much I owe to You: Sincerely therefore now repenting, I reform; and own my ſelf to have received from You not onely excellent* Rudiments *of* good Literature, *but the firſt* Rational Impreſſions *of* Religion.

I rather prefix this Recognition to the enſuing Diſcourſe, than to either of the other in its company, becauſe, Sir, it was truly the ſenſe *I had of Your* piety, *which firſt operated towards the reconciling me to* Church-Muſick. *I came to You with prejudices (very unreaſonable, ſuch as commonly all prejudices are) againſt it: The firſt Organ I ever ſaw or heard, was in Your Houſe, which was in thoſe dayes a more regular Church than moſt we had publickly. I then thus judged, if a man of ſuch real Devotion, as I knew You to be of, would keep an Organ for ſacred Uſe, even when it was interdicted and of dangerous conſe-*

quenc

quence, there was certainly more of reason for it, and ſerviceableneſs in it, than I apprehended. When afterwards God was pleaſed to bring again the Captivity *of our* Mother *the* Engliſh Church, *my own experience ſoon convinced, that thoſe my favourable thoughts were moſt juſt: and now I have thought my ſelf concern'd to tell the prejudicate World ſo much.*

I have, Sir, no other recompence to make, which You will accept, for all Your antient care and real kindneſſes towards me, than this poor acknowledgment, together with my ſerious prayers for a full Retribution to You from Him, who ſees in ſecret, but will reward openly.

In confidence that You acquieſce herein as a plenary ſatisfaction, I will dare to ſtile my ſelf,

SIR,

Your very thankful Scholar,

And ever humble Servant,

Edward Wetenhall.

OF THE GIFT OF PRAYER.

CHAP. I.

Sect. 1. *The Introduction, touching the Design of the whole.* Sect. 2. *That* Praying *by a Spiritual* Gift *is expresly mentioned in Scripture, and particularly in the* I Cor. XIV. Sect. 3. *It is questionable whether the other places of Scripture, usually alledged for this purpose, belong thereto, and most probably they do not.* Sect. 4. *The Heads of Enquiry in this Discourse.* Sect. 5. *The first, What that spiritual* Gift of Prayer, *mentioned in the* I Cor. XIV, *was.* Sect. 6. *The second, What the Apostles Rule for the publick management of it, in relation to Matter, Words, and Intention or Devotion.* Sect. 7. *Of* praying in the Holy Ghost, *and like Scripture Phrases.* Sect. 8. *The result of the whole.*

IT is the peculiar (and we hope the just) praise of the English Protestant Church, given to her by the most competent Judges, Sect. 1.

Judges as well Strangers as Natives, ever since her first regular Establishment, that throughout the whole Reformation, there is nothing so glorious and accomplisht as is her publick worship; especially, as managed in Cathedrals and such Places of the better note. There are notwithstanding amongst us, of late years, not a few serious and considerative men (persons of real Piety and worth) whom, the constant use of another way of serving God, ever since they knew what Religion meant, has prejudiced against this; and the confidence of their way being best, has never suffered to look deep enough into the advantages of another. This their confidence has commonly two very plausible, but insufficient, that I say not treacherous supports: a superficial or seeming sense of some passages of Scripture which they at first hastily ran away with, and never since doubted; and the experience and memory of that Devotion or good affection, which that way of worship has excited, and usually renews in them. These men, being (as above supposed) of upright and honest hearts, truly conscien-

ſcientious and fearing God, are not to be inveighed againſt, becauſe they are in ſome regard adverſe; nor to be laught at, becauſe they have not judged more maturely: (As things went twenty or thirty years ago, conſidering how many were then in the very *Criſis* of their Education, it is not to be wondred that the Age abounds with men of ſuch ſentiments in Religion) Rather it is to be endeavoured, and it ought not to be deſpaired, that by ſuch fair underſtanding, which calm and ſerious reaſon is apt to beget, they may be won to admire the excellency of what they now unhappily diſapprove.

That in our Publick Worſhip, which ſuch perſons bear moſt uneaſily, is the neglect of what they call the *Gift of Prayer*, and the uſe of what we call *Church Muſick*. Exceptions poſſibly there are againſt our *preaching*, but thoſe leſs, and perhaps by perſons leſs conſiderable: however, the charges againſt that, are of a different nature from what is objected againſt theſe, and ſhall be conſidered alſo by themſelves. Our Sermons uſually take with them much

better, than either the Liturgy, or the Choral uſe of it. In both theſe they think and ſay, we have laid aſide the Primitive pattern. In the one, they complain, we retain nothing of the Apoſtolical ſpirit; in the other, we obſerve not the Apoſtolical ſimplicity.

Now we will enter into a free and diſtinct conſultation of each. We will ſearch what is certainly Apoſtolical, and what the Scripture directs touching each, their management, their immediate ends and deſign. We will conſider the expediency and congruity of all to the preſent ſtate, the meaſures which the Church has taken in the ſeveral Ages, her perpetual uſe and practice all along. We will perform the whole with all openneſs, candour and ſincerity, without fear, or favour of our own part, leaving what we do to approve it ſelf to every Readers reaſon and conſcience in the ſight of God, and deſiring onely to be received with the ſame unprejudicate mind, with which we have written.

Sect. 2. That the Scripture ſpeaks of *praying by* a certain ſpiritual *Gift* may not be denied. When

When in any Diſcourſe the argument or ſubject of it is plainly expreſt or propounded in the beginning, if it ſhall ſo come to paſs, that in proceſs any ambiguous or equivocal terms drop, they may be ſurely determined or interpreted by the Analogy they have to the common ſubject treated of. Whereas therefore the Apoſtle St. *Paul* in the XII Chapt. of his firſt to the *Corinthians*, ver. 1. propounds to treat touching ſpiritual Gifts. (*Now concerning ſpiritual gifts, Brethren, I would not have you ignorant*) and carries on that Diſcourſe for three Chapters together, as is moſt evident, when in the XIV. Chapter ver. 15. we read, *I will pray with the ſpirit, and I will pray with the underſtanding alſo.* It is plain that by *ſpirit* we are to underſtand a ſpiritual Gift (the Metonymy is eaſie) for of ſpiritual Gifts the whole Diſcourſe principally proceeds; and foraſmuch as he applieth this Gift to Prayer, [*I will pray with* (or by) *the ſpirit*] it is certain he affirms a ſpiritual gift there was, then in the Church, facilitating in the Office of Prayer.

There are ſundry other places which *Sect.* 3.

are conceived by some to belong hereto: as, *Zech.* XII. 10. *I will pour upon the house of* David, *and upon the inhabitants of* Jerusalem *the spirit of Grace and supplication.* And in the Epistle of St. *Jude*, ver. 20. *But ye beloved building up your selves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep your selves in the love of God.* And in St. Pauls Epistle to the Ephesians, cha. VI. ver. 18. *Praying allwayes with all prayer and supplication in the spirit.* And especially that of St. Paul to the Romans cha. VIII. ver. 26 *Likewise the spirit helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for, as we ought, But the spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.* But in all these places the context is so farr from enforceing any exposition, which will concern utterance in praier, that the scope of them seemes to restrain them clearly to another thing, as shall be shewn in an other part of this discourse more pertinent to the sense of those Texts. There is yet another passage which some have laid great weight on, as being a promise from our Lords own mouth

mouth *Math: X.* 19, 20. *When they deliver you up, take no thought, how or what ye ſhall ſpeak: for it ſhall be given you in that ſame hour what ye ſhall ſpeak. For it is not ye that ſpeak, but the ſpirit of your Father that ſpeaketh in you.* Hence they would frame an argument, *à fortiori*, thus: Would God aſſiſt them to plead at an heathen Tribunal, and not at the throne of Grace? But the anſwer is plain. He did undoubtedly aſſiſt thoſe, to whom this promiſe was given at both, and that by the infallible conduct of his ſpirit: But yet neither is aſſiſtance at both here promiſed, nor doth the promiſe belong to us, our caſe, or times, but to thoſe primary and extraordinary Martyrs or Witneſſes of Chriſtianity. And being it is deſigned by our Lord to that particular caſe of anſwering for themſelves, when arraigned for their Chriſtianity, there is no reaſon we ſhould extend it to what we liſt. In thoſe caſes it was not them who ſpoke, but the Holy Ghoſt in them. Thoſe their apologies or defences being (as Scripture) given by inſpiration of God, were of the ſame authority, with Scri-

Scripture, and are many of them at this day Scripture. As is St. *Peters*, *Acts* IV, ver: 8 *&c.* and chap. V, ver. 29. And St. *Stephens*, *Act.* VII: And divers of St. Pauls. *Acts* XXII. and again chap. XXIII, and XXIV, ver. 10 *&c.* and XXVI, ver. 2. *&c.* Behold in all these (and more instances that might be alleged) the promise verified; and the effect, Defences of infallible verity, as proceeding immediately from the Holy Ghost speaking in the Apologists. But will any man in his wits admit or urge this consequence? Our Lord promised by miraculous inspiration to assist His Apostles, when arraigned before heathen judges for publishing his Gospel, so that they should be able without thought to make defences of themselves and Doctrine, of divine and infallible authority: Therefore in every ordinary case of prayer he will assist all the faithfull by the same inspiration. Or will these very persons arrogate thus much to themselves and their own prayers, that they proceed from the same, that is infallible, inspiration? It must, in all charity, be affirmed of them, that they will not.

In

In the mean time, though these places infer no such thing, yet we have said, that the Apostle to the *Corinthians* expressly speaks of praying by a certain spiritual Gift, and that the same cannot reasonably be gainsayed, by any who consider his discourse in the Chapters cited. Now touching this *Gift of Prayer* (as it is termed) and the grounds thereof (a case, which hath made more noise and trouble in the *English* Church, than in the whole Christian world) we will inquire, (1.) What is the strict import of the Gift, which the Apostle speaks of in that passage to the *Corinthians*, the onely place which can be proved to belong to this matter. 2. What Rules the Apostle in that discourse laies down for the use or management of that *gift*? 3. Whether what has been by the late age, or is by this, called the *Gift of praier*, be the same gift, which is there mentioned by the Apostle. 4. If there should be found reason to conclude the spiritual Gift there spoken of to be extraordinary, miraculous, and proper to those times, whether then any Ordinary Gift of prayer, answerable to that Extra- *Sect.* 4.

ordinary one, be of perpetuity in the Church, and a common consequent of a Gracious heart, as some have affirmed. 5. Whether conceived prayer, or prayer by such an ordinary pretended gift, have in publick, any advantages of prescribed Forms? And lastly, what has been the certain Practice of the Church all along in this case?

In all which weighty Enquiries (for such they are now become) I cannot contein my selfe from a second passionate beseeching, and in the name of God conjuring, all who shall give themselves the pains to peruse this discourse, that they read with the same equanimity and unprejudiced sense with which I write, who, I thank God, ly under no temptation to plead for one kind of prayer more than the other, any further than the meer merit of the cause shall turn the ballance.

As to the first matter of enquiry. *It* *Sect.* 5. hath been already said and proved, that Praying with the *Spirit* (1 Cor. 14.) signifies praying by a spiritual gift facilitating in that Office: Now the great question will be what is the strict importance

tance of the Spiritual gift there deſigned?

In anſwer thereunto, we will readily allow in the *general*, that it was an Ability to make and utter, anew and upon the ſudden, a Prayer ſuiting to the then preſent ſtate of Chriſtianity. And for proof hereof we will deſire no other evidence (as indeed none that is to be had can be more proper) than what the Apoſtles own words, taken in their true dependances, and with reference to the deſign of his diſcourſe, carry in them. And the conſideration hereof, beſides the proving what we alledge it for, will lead us to a more *particular*, and indeed the ſtricteſt ſenſe of that ſpiritual Gift there ſaid to be ſerviceable in Prayer.

It is to be known then, that in thoſe extraordinary dayes, God was pleaſed to inſpire many of the Faithful peculiarly with the gift of divers Tongues. And this variety of Tongues, in men that had not learnt them, was not onely a meanes to propagate the Goſpell in Countries remote and of a different language from that of the Jewes, but a ſignal proof and confirmation of that

Gospell's being from Heaven, Heaven by such a miracle giving witness thereto. This is what we read in the Chapter alledged, ver: 22. *Tongues are for a sign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not.* And the History of the effusion of this miraculous Gift, in several instances, we have in the Acts of the Apostles, Cap: II. and X, ver. 46. and elsewhere. Now of those persons who were inspired with different Tongues, some could interpret, others not; but themselves understood not *Distinctly* the mysteries which they uttered, or the Prayers and Praises which they conceived. Thus we read in the forementioned chapter, ver: 14. *If I pary in an unknown Tongue, my spirit prayeth*, That is my spiritual gift is exercised in prayer, *but my understanding is unfruitful*: not onely am I not understood by others (which some would have to be the whole, and is part of the Apostles meaning) but neither do I distinctly understand my own words thus uttered; for if I did, I could interpret (speak those things in my own Mother Tongue) which yet it is plain many

So Basil, Hierom, Chrysostom, Theophylact *of the Ancients*; Erasmus, Cameron, Estius, *&c. of the Moderns*:

many of them then could not, ver. 13. Having thus aſſerted the unprofitableneſs of *praying* by the Spirit when they underſtood not, he proceeds, in the Fifteenth verſe, as to conſultation. *What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the underſtanding alſo:* that is, By this inſpired gift of Tongues would I be able to utter Prayers, but ſo, that I underſtood diſtinctly what I uttered, and were not *as things without life, giving ſound, as pipes, or harps, or trumpets,* and like inſtruments, ver. 7, 8. *Praying in (or by) the ſpirit* then, in the Apoſtles ſenſe (or the ſpiritual gift there ſpoken of) ſignifies an inſpired faculty of uttering a new Prayer, and that ſometimes even in ſtrange and different Tongues. This is acknowledged by ſeveral modern Interpreters of good note; *Spiritu*, i. e. *Linguâ peregrinâ quam mihi dictat ſpiritus.* Beza in Cor. *Spiritus*, *Voce ſingulare linguarum donum ſignificans*, Cal. Inſtit. lib. 3. c. 20. ſect. 33. So *Diodate* and others, whoſe judgements they, that moſt admire what they call the gift of Prayer, will not contemn. The ſumme

then of the caſe there handled, and the Apoſtles reſolution thereupon, is this.

The *Corinthians* were many of them zealous Affecters of thoſe miraculous gifts then frequent amongſt them: but particularly and above the reſt of this prodigious gift of Tongues. Our Apoſtle doth not go about directly to repreſs or check this their Zeal, but to guide and conduct it into a right channel; ſhewing them chap. *XIII*, that Charity is much a worthier object of the moſt paſſionate Zeal, than any ſpiritual Gift: and in this *XIV* Chapter, that if yet they will affect ſpiritual Gifts, they ought to be moſt zealous of thoſe which conduce moſt to edification. To this purpoſe he compares the gift of Tongues whereof they were ſo eager and fond, with other ſpiritual gifts of a more edifying nature; namely, with propheſying (or expounding the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, the new one not being then extant) and with interpreting of tongues, and yet by no meanes undervaluing even that their admired Gift of Tongues: whereof therefore he ſets down the uſefullneſs in two points.

First

First in regard of private edification, ver. 4. *He that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himſelf.* And, Secondly, in order to the converſion of infidels. ver. 22. *Tongues are a ſign*: a verification of old propheſies (ſuch as *Iſai. XXVIII*, 11. cited by our Apoſtle ver. 21. and that of *Joel II*, 28. cited by St. *Peter*, *Acts XI*, ver. 16.) to convert the Jewes, who received thoſe propheſies, but yet believed not the Goſpel; and a ſupernatural effect or miracle for the perſwading the Heathen world of the Divinity of Chriſtian Doctrine. But together that the juſtice of his compariſon might appear, he ſets down alſo the comparative uſeleſſneſſe of this gift in two other points, the former of more private concerment: The mans own underſtanding many times was unfruitful, *ver.* 14: the latter of a larger extent, others (already converted) underſtood not thoſe tongues, were not commonly edified *ver.* 5, 6. *&c.* and could not to ſuch praiſes ſay Amen, *ver.* 16. Wherefore this Gift of tongues was not ſo excellent, that is ſo uſefull to the Church as propheſying, or interpreting

ting of tongues, no not if applied to this ſpecial office of prayer, wherein all ought to beare a part, at leaſt by their *Amen* or conſent, which how could they give to what they did not underſtand?

Upon the whole conſultation the text is the reſult, as is evident by the very manner of ſpeaking, or the initial Formulary. *What is it then?* In other words, what ſhall we determine in this caſe? To which it is returned by way of reſolve. *I will pray with the ſpirit, and I will pray with the underſtanding alſo*, and with the underſtanding both of my ſelfe and of them who hear me. *ver:* 2, 9, 16, 19. In other terms: *I* account the faculty or gift of uttering an inſpired prayer for the ſervice of the Church in the publique worſhip of God, to be deſireable and of excellent uſe in the Church; yea even thoſe prayers, which are inſpired in or under unknown tongues, to be a miraculous proof of the Goſpell. But all theſe prayers, when uſed in publick, ought to be ſo uttered, and in ſuch a language, as that they may be publickly underſtood: Elſe, ſo farr forth

Nec enim donum linguarum aboleo Beza.

orth as they are not underſtood, ſo farr orth are they uſeleſſe to the Church, ny otherwiſe than as miracles. By this ccount it is plain both what this ſpiri- ual Gift was, and that it was ſuch as ve have above determined.

To proceed therefore now to the onſideration of the Rule given by the poſtle for the publick management this gift. προσεύξομαι τῷ πνεύματι, προσεύξομαι τῷ νοΐ. The ſearching the diſtinct nd full import of theſe words [*I will ray with the ſpirit, and I will pray ith the underſtanding alſo*] will make ut the ſumme and particulars of the poſtles Rule. *Sect. 6.*

The ſumme is: Gifts indeed are not to e deſpiſed or neglected? But above all ifts, above all dexterity, neatneſs, co- iouſneſs, nay above all miracles of Lan- uage (for of ſuch gifts there ſpoke he) e ought to be ſollicitous, even in our ublick prayers, that our minds and arts be all along diſtinctly intent and nployed. Words, though inſpired es, are of little virtue or worth with- t the concurrence and ingagement of e mind. Indeed the deſigne of words

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in prayer, as to God-wards (who un derſtands our thoughts without any ex teriour indications of them) is but t fix the Soul, to give diſtincter form an maturity to its acts, and to keep it ſtai to the particulars of its devotions. The are but the Vehicles of the ſouls breath ings and Tranſports. By them our mind do *elabi ſurſum ac evolare*, glide forth an ſoar aloft to that God, whom the infinit tendencies of ſoules, rather than pittifu limited ſounds, which dy with ou breath, can reach and move. Wherefore though they are to be uſed (both upon account of the reaſons mentioned, and Divine command) yet all ſpeech, al gifts or faculty thereof, are ſo far onely valuable & uſeful, as they ſerve to engage the mind in affection and duty to God.

To reduce this into diſtincter mem bers. Firſt, it is conſiderable that the Apoſtle no wiſe undervalues or teach eth to neglect the ſpiritual gift, which was then ſo miraculouſly frequent a mongſt them: which becauſe it was onely (χάρισμα and not χάρις) a *Gift* and not a *Grace*, cannot be ſuppoſed to have been otherwiſe ſerviceable to them in

prayer,

rayer, than as it ſuggeſted the matter
nd words of the prayer. Theſe we
ill conclude them to have had by pre-
nt inſpiration; which in that he di-
cts them, who were thus extraordina-
ly inſpired to imploy, reſolving and de-
rmining, *I will pray with the Spirit*,
is part of his rule can be no further of
ncernment to us, who have not this
xtraordinary inſpiration, than as it is
pplicable to what in our ordinary ſtate
as ſucceeded ſuch inſpiration. And
hen all it can impoſe on us is this, that
e uſe thoſe ordinary abilities we
ave (analogous to their extraor-
inary ones) in proviſion of prayers be-
ting our ſtate, that is, made up of meet
atter and meet words, which was
l which their inſpired faculty did ſup-
ly. We muſt conceive, God has ne-
r been wanting in his proviſions for
is Church. When under the law he
equired ſacrifices, and the great pomp
f a ceremonial worſhip, he inſpired
oſes and David and *Aſaph* and other
oly men to furniſh his Church with
itable devotionalls, prayers and
ymnes pertinent to that ſtate. When

under the Goſpell the ſtate of things was changed, and he now without thoſe ſhadowes required the ſacrifice of faithfull and pure hearts, he haveing firſt accepted the immaculate ſacrifice of his onely Son upon the Croſſe, by the ſweet ſavour whereof all our ſacrifices both of hearts and devotions muſt become acceptable, he I ſay, foraſmuch as it was neceſſary there ſhould be publick prayers proper alſo for this ſtate, inſpired the primitive Chriſtian Saints with ſuch abilities, by which they conceived prayers meet to their worſhip. And the ſame ſpirit reſts ſtill in the Church; onely the manner of its communication is diverſe. What they had by extraordinary inſpiration, we have by more ordinary meanes and methods, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. When therefore he wills, that thoſe inſpired perſons *Pray with the ſpirit*, that is, make uſe of their inſpiration in prayer, by parity of reaſon, I ſay, he requires, we, in our ſtate, imploy our Chriſtian prudence, care and skill, that our prayers be meet and pertinent to the preſent condition of the Church &c

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our ſelves. And that, as above intimated,

Firſt, as to the matter of them. We are not preſently to vent, what firſt offers it ſelfe to our ranging phanſy. Things ought to be examined, and choice made, and care taken, that in our confeſſions we charge not on our ſelves ſins, which we do not think our ſelves guilty of: that again in our petitions we neither ask things unlawful, nor indecent, nor for ill ends to *ſpend on our luſt*: that finally in our doxologies, and all addreſſes of invocation, admiration, praiſe, or vow to God, we aſcribe not or promiſe to him things unbecomeing his pure nature and glorious Majeſty. The very law of nature as well as Holy writt requires thus much. *Eccle.* V. 2. *Be not raſh with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be haſty to utter any thing before God* (which he preſſeth by naturall reaſon) *For God is in heaven and thou on earth.*

And ſecondarily, even as to words and expreſſions, none can conceive, but Chriſtian prudence and care is to be uſed; for as much as it is certain, the mind cloſely follows the words and

conceives and understands thinges by them. It must needs therefore be, that irreverent, absurd or uncomely expressions lead aside or disturb true devotion. The Holy Ghost, in setting down an order for Israels repentance, condescends to a strange particularity in this regard. Hose. XIV. 1, 2. *O Israel return unto the Lord; for thou hast faln by thine iniquities. Take with you words, and turne to the Lord: say unto him, Take away our iniquity, and receive us graciously.* &c. And that Great and wise Saint, *Job*, (ranked by God himselfe amongst the three mighties in prayer) speakes of it, even in his case, as a matter of dreadfull difficulty (which sure then in us ought to engage some care & thought) *to choose out words to plead with God. Job:* IX. 14. I will therefore onely adde, that what ever interest or Familiarity any man can conceive himself to have with God, loose and careless language in Prayer, must needs bespeak a certain want of the fear of God in him, who uses it; and most especially in Publick, where every expression may be presumed to have an

Ezek: XIV 14, 20.

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influence on many hearts, either to quicken or infect them.

Thus then ſtands the firſt member of the Apoſtles rule; that, whereas the Corinthians had an immediate inſpiration then aſſiſting many of them in prayer, they ſhould not neglect it: which can concern our times, and ſtate no otherwiſe than thus; that, whereas we have onely Chriſtian prudence and uſual utterance, which are the gift (though but common gift) of Gods ſpirit, we neglect not the uſe of theſe, in providing, according to our ability, that our prayers be meet and fit, both in matter and form. I doe not ſee how any thing more can reaſonably be infered hence:

The other branch of his rule is this, that all gifts, which are exerciſed in publick prayers, ought to be ſo regulated or managed, as that the prayers, made thereby, be underſtood, both by the perſon that preſents them, and the congregation of Auditors, who are to joyne therein. This is clearly his ſenſe, *I will pray with the ſpirit*, (as before ſaid) *but I will pray with the underſtanding alſo*, the point we now urge. He allowes that

that even the very gift of ſtrange tongues, (for of that gift particularly as we have ſeen he ſpeaks) might be uſed in prayer; but firſt, by ſuch who vnderſtood it themſelves, that ſo while their ſpirit prayed, their underſtanding might not be unfruitfull V: 14. And, ſecondly, if amongſt the unlearned, then with interpretation, that ſo, *they who occupied the room of the unlearned might ſay Amen.* V. 16. They were to uſe the gift of tongues, that the benefit of a new miracle might redound to the propagating or confirming the beliefe of Chriſtianity; but they were to interpret, that the prayers, which they conceived, might not be of their private ſpirit, but being underſtood by all, ingage diſtinctly the devotion of the whole Church. And the neceſſity of this later is moſt evident. For, how is it poſſible the mind can go along with, conſent to, and be diſtinctly affected with, what it does not underſtand? Can any man, that reſolves to ſpeak reaſon or ſenſe, call the muttering over of words, which he does not underſtand, a reaſonable ſervice? This is a ſtrange *wor-*

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worſhipping God in ſpirit and in truth, to pay him ſuch a ſervice, which cannot poſſibly have any truth in it, that is any conformity of my mind with my words, becauſe I underſtand them not; nay, concerning which I do not know whether it be an act of Worſhip or of Blaſphemy, *whether I bleſs or curſe.*

The conſideration of this, I confeſs, creates in me not a little wonder at thoſe of the Romiſh Church; that againſt all Scripture, reaſon, truth of Hiſtory, nay even againſt common ſenſe, they ſhould magnifie, maintain and practice (even after theſe miraculous gifts have long ceaſed) Prayer in an unknown Tongue: and this in a manner conſtantly and in their moſt ſolemn and ſerious Offices. That their common Prieſts amongſt us ſhould affirm, that no Chriſtian Nation before the Reformation uſed to have the publick Service in any but the Latine Tongue, I do not at all admire, becauſe I am ſatisfied by ſufficient experience, that many of them do not underſtand what is Latine and what not. (Hebrew or Greek words, when writ in a Latine Character, are

ſufficiently Latine with them: and this, as to many paſſages in their Offices they will face us down in, before their credulous people, and call us ignorant, becauſe we know better) But that any of them who pretend to Learning and Education ſhould ſay ſo, I cannot but ſtand amazed; when even their own Breviaries, their Ritual, nay the very Canon of the Maſs it ſelf have all along not onely ſeveral Hebrew and Greek words, but ſome paſſages intirely without variation taken out of the old Greek Liturgies (and therefore muſt needs ſuppoſe them in being before themſelves) and beſides ſeveral Greek Liturgies, which certainly were once in uſe, have we not to this day extant the Liturgy of the Church of *Alexandria*, of the *Æthiopick* & *Armenian* Churches, & many others which perhaps I never heard of?

But to let theſe Gentlemen paſs: while we reprehend Adverſaries, it is neceſſary we be juſt and conſtant to our ſelves. I muſt needs confeſs, amongſt thoſe who call themſelves Proteſtants and Reformed, and who would be thought to be of us, ſince there have been

been ſo many pretenders to the Gift of prayer, they have made this ſacred Office of prayer, as they perform it, very unintelligible: if they do *pray with the ſpirit*, ſo; I am ſure they do not *pray with the underſtanding*, at leaſt of thoſe who hear them. I muſt avow, I cannot underſtand Non-ſenſe, nor diſtinctly comprehend mens meaning in broken ſenſe, or their blundering confuſed aiming at ſenſe: and I could wiſh, that moſt of the prayers of the gifted men were not too often fraught herewith. I am well aſſured alſo, that moſt of the common people do not underſtand terms of art, nor new and affected words and phraſes, and ſo that they cannot to one half of ſuch mens prayers ſay *Amen*. I might alſo ſay, that by their frequent expletives, by their often being at a loſs, by their undigeſted and inconſiſtent expreſſions, their uttering at a peradventure what comes next; it is evident, that they themſelves many times do not diſtinctly underſtand, what they would have. If therefore we will keep to this member of the Apoſtles Rule, it is plain we can no more juſtifie ſuch prayers as theſe,

than the former practice which we have reprehended, & which even these men themselves do reprehend, in our Elder Adversaries of *Rome*.

There may be yet conceived a third branch in this the Apostles rule, though indeed it may rather seem a consectary from what he saies, than matter of his plain design. For the discovery whereof it is to be considered that though the Greek word νοῦς, which is in this place rendred *understanding*, principally denote the intellectual part of the soul, yet it is commonly used, both in sacred and prophane authors, for the purpose, sentence, resolution or desire of the mind, yea in a word for the whole rational part, or any act and intention, thereof. Thus in *Homer*, Νοῦς ἦ οἱ ἔμμεν μενοινὰ ὀΐσ: σ. signifies the inclination and maine bent of his mind. And any thing is said κατὰ νοῦν, when it is as we would have it. Besides there is no reason assignable, why the Apostle should require, that men pray with the understanding, but because that being the leading part of the soul, draws the will & unites all the powers of the soul upon God

God. *To pray* then *with the mind* (as the word imports or may infer) will be to pray with real *intention* and all good affection, in the language of Scripture, to pray *with all our heart, with all our Soul, and with all our Strength.* And when the Apoſtle reſolves, we ought ſo to pray with the ſpirit that we pray alſo *with the mind*, he would that all ſpiritual gifts, ſerviceable in prayer, be ſo managed, as that the prayers made thereby be not onely comprehended by the underſtanding, but alſo may make impreſſion upon the will and affections, and draw and imploy the whole Soul God-wards, by the exerciſe of all thoſe Chriſtian graces which are proper to the reſpective parts of prayer. I do not ſay this was directly intended here by *St. Paul*; but it is fairly enough deducible from what he did directly intend, and from his expreſſe terms.

And this is truly what the Scripture meanes, *by praying in the Holy Ghoſt*, or *prayer* and *ſupplication* in *the ſpirit*, and like phraſes: when the whole ſoul being attent to every part of the duty

Sect. 7. Jude v. 20. Eph. 6. 18.

and seriously intending and being bent on the matters exprest, is affected suitably to the nature of each; confessing sins with sorrow & contrition for them, with hatred of them, with resolution against them; and with the same temper most passionatly begging pardon and grace, and together being resolved to endeavour by all meet means to obtain & await the graces petitioned for; again, interceding for others with fervent charity and good will. That this is the genuin sense thereof cannot more fitly be proved, than by considering, in the first place, what the *Spirit of prayer*, which was promised, was. The promise we have most largely and perspicuously in *Zech:* XII, 10. *I will pour upon the House of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of Grace of supplications; & they shall look upon me whom they have peirced & they shall mourne for him as one mourneth for an onely Son; & shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for an onely* Son. Nothing can be more plain by the very letter of a Text, than that the Blessing here promised was a complication of the graces

of

of Gods ſpirit, contrition, faith divine love, and whatever elſe makes up the ardent devotion of a penitent heart; rather than any gifts of utterance, none of which haply would ſuffice for the expreſſing ſuch paſſionate effuſion of affection, as is in the context repræſented It is in direct terms firſt ſtyled the *ſpirit of grace*, a penitent, affectionate, broken heart, and by being ſuch, a *ſpirit of ſupplications*, plurally, that temper being lowder in the eares of God, than all vocall prayers; of which we have a famous inſtance (I. *Sam.* I. 10, 13) in the caſe of *Hannah*. And if that paſſage of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* VIII 26, be to be underſtood (as ſome would have it) touching ſuch an inward aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, as all the faithfull may expect in prayer, it muſt certainly be interpreted in proportion to this propheſy. He had ſaid (ver: 24, 25) That under all their preſſures and groanes it was *Hope* that ſupported them; and that by working them to patience: upon which immediately he proceeds (ver: 26) *Likewiſe the ſpirit alſo helpeth our infirmities*; when our very hopes are weake

weake and languiſhing, we receive a ſecret ſupply of comfort from the Holy Ghoſt wonderfully affecting our hearts, and by that meanes ſupporting us. *For we know not what to pray for as we ought.* In theſe *deliquia*, or fainting fits, we are many times at a loſſe, whether we ought to ask the removall of our calamities, or no. *But the Spirit it ſelf maketh interceſſion for us with groanes, which cannot be uttered.* The ſame Holy Ghoſt, in theſe ſtraits, works our minds to ſuch ineffable heights of Devotion, and caſting our ſelves upon God, as do undoubtedly prevail with God to give us what is beſt, though we neither poſitively aske the one nor the other, but refer the whole to the gracious pleaſure of our heavenly Father.

This is I profeſs as naturally as I can repreſent it (to make the verſe any way conſiſtent whith the Apoſtles diſcourſe) the ſenſe of that verſe, takeing it even of the ſpirit inwardly aſſiſting the faithfull in prayer: though it ſeemes rather to be meant of the ſpirit dwelling in Chriſt, *who ſits at the right hand of God making interceſſion for us*, for which

which I could alledge severall reasons, were it to the present designe. Upon the whole then, takeing this verse, even in favour of our adversaries, the Apostle expressly affirmes, that the great assistance, which we receive from the Holy Ghost in prayer, is, its *makeing intercession for us with groanes which cannot be utired*; referring the assistance to inward devotion wrought by the Holy Ghost, and too great for the utterance of words, and not to any gifts of utterance or expressions.

Having thus considered what the *spirit of prayer* is, in the sense of Scripture, and what the great assistance which the Faithful may expect in prayer from the spirit, for further proof that the notion above given is the fittest, which can be put on those phrases of *praying in the Holy Ghost, and prayer in the spirit*, let the places where they are found be lookt over with regard to the connexion and design of each. In *Ephes. VI.* from *ver.* 10, to the 17. (inclusively, the Apostle conjures his Ephesians, considering the variety of dangers and difficulties in their Christian warfare (set down *ver:*

12) that they ſhould endeavour all courage and conſtancy; and to that purpoſe *Arme*, or endeavour to confirm, themſelves by the *Truth*, and a *righteous* or holy life (ver: 14) by Charity, *Faith, and Hope* (ver: 15, 16, 17) *Praying alwaies with all prayer and ſupplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perſeverance:* in other & ſhorter terms, praying with all fervour and conſtancy; or with the exerciſe of all thoſe Chriſtian graces, and as men inſpirited with ſupernatural devotion. And if that paſſage of St. *Jude* has any thing in it peculiar and diſtinct from this ſenſe, it is onely with relation to the publick aſſemblies, and prayer therein. He had warned the faithfull (ver: 19) *of thoſe who ſeparated themſelves, ſenſual men, haveing not the ſpirit* [brutiſh perſons, void of grace or any principle of a new life] *But* (ver: 20.) *ye beloved, building up your ſelves on your moſt holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt, keep your ſelves in the love of God.* [In ſtead of ſeparating, frequent the publick aſſemblies, for your daily growth in grace, and joyn there in

in prayer with all zeal and ardour of mind, thus keeping your ſelves in the favour and under the bleſſing of God in communion with his Church.] What any inſpired gifts of utterance, ſuppoſed in the community of the faithful, have here to do (the publick and promiſcuous exerciſe of which poſſibly might rather tend to ſchiſm and ſeparation) it is not eaſy to conceive.

The reſult then, or the whole that can be reaſonably concluded, from all the places, which we have yet conſidered, is, That there were, in the miraculous ſtate of the Chriſtian Church, certain extraordinary gifts of utterance, particularly that of divers Tongues; that this was then uſed, and under ſome cautions uſeful, even in the Office of Prayer: that both then and ever the Holy Spirit of God, in a peculiar ſort under the Goſpel, ſweetly moves, ſoftens and quickens the hearts of the Faithful, as in other caſes, ſo eſpecially in prayer: that herein it raiſes in them greater fervour of love and good affection than naturally could be had or expected: that in all kind of prayer the Faithful ought to endeavour *Sect. 8.*

the exercise of the graces of Gods Spirit; And that finally, all publick Prayers are to be fitted, in the best manner that may be, to the general capacity and devotion of the Christian community.

CHAP. II.

Sect. 1. *The third point of Enquiry. That, which hath been of late named the* Gift of Prayer, *is not the same with the* Spiritual Gift *spoken of by the Apostle.* Sect. 2. *The fourth Enquiry, touching an* Ordinary *Gift of Prayer, supposed to succeed the* Extraordinary *one, and to be of perpetuity in the Church.* Sect. 3. *What sober notion can be framed thereof.* Sect. 4. *A judgment of it in such notion.* Sect. 5. *That this Gift in this notion, as to the Essence of it, was no more appropriate to Prayer than to other like Christian Offices.* Sect. 6. *How far its use reasonable or tolerable at present.*

Sect. 1. THE third point of Enquiry will take up less time for satisfaction: namely, Whether what has been by the late

late Age named, and is now called uſually, the *Gift of prayer*, be the ſame with that ſpiritual Gift ſpoken of in the place aforementioned?

For anſwer whereto, though it might ſeem requiſite ſome definition or deſcription ſhould firſt be given of this pretended Gift, yet I preſume it for the preſent purpoſe ſufficiently known by its name, and proceeding directly to the Queſtion anſwer it in the Negative, that the Faculty called the *Gift of prayer*, and pretended to by thoſe, who quarrel'd and withdrew from the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, was not at all the gift deſigned by S. *Paul* in 1 *Cor. XIV*, 15. the only place which yet I can find to ſpeak of praying by a ſpiritual gift.

For, Firſt, it is plain by the account already given of that place, that the Gift there ſpoken of was the gift of Tongues. In the firſt Chapter, we read the Corinthian Church to have been *enriched in all utterance and knowledge*. This gift of Tongues was a particular *ſpecies* or kind of the Gift of utterance: but yet as particular as it was, it was no more appropriate to the Office

1 Cor. 1. 5.

of *prayer*, than to that of *ſinging*: for it follows in that very place, *I will pray with the ſpirit*, &c. *I will ſing with the ſpirit, and I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo.* And no more to either of theſe, than to the Office of *preaching* or *ſpeaking myſteries*. For, *ver. 2. He that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, in the ſpirit ſpeaketh myſteries*; or, *ver. 6. He ſpeaketh either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by propheſying, or by doctrine*: And again, *ver. 26, He hath a pſalm, hath a doctrine*, &c. Now it is certain, or will be confeſt, that this gift of Tongues was not the thing pretended to in the Gift of prayer.

Again, it is acknowledged by all, that the Gift there ſpoken of was extraordinary and miraculous: and this deſtroyes the very pretenſe of thoſe touching whom we ſpeak. For though haply they would be content to be admired for their gift of prayer (and it may be ſome do really admire many of them after a faſhion) yet was not this Gift pretended any miracle, but an uſual conſequent (at leaſt in ſome meaſure) of grace, though ſometimes incident even unto

unto reprobates alſo, and ſo more ordinary than a gracious heart it ſelf.

But it will be demanded then, is there not ſome *Ordinary* Gift of prayer, anſwerable to to that Extraordinary one there ſpoken of, which was to be of perpetuity in the Church, and may be expected from the Holy Ghoſt by all the Faithfull, as being a common fruit of Converſion? *Sect.* 2.

This is the fourth point of the propounded inquiry. And in anſwere hereunto, that terms may not involve us in obſcurity, I muſt forbear no longer to ſet down as inoffenſively as I can, what can be the ſober meaning of the Giſt of prayer.

Now as to thoſe who meant any thing ſober and intelligble thereby, I conceive their meaning in ordinary language may be thus expreſt. This gift they ſuppoſed to be a faculty, infuſed by the Holy Ghoſt, conſiſting of *quickneſs of thought and readineſs of ſpeech*, both particularly applied to the buſineſs of prayer. And this they would have reckoned amongſt what they call the Common gifts of the ſpirit; becauſe, though all are by them ſup- *Sect.* 3.

ſuppoſed to have it in ſome meaſure who are truly converted and in whom the ſpirit dwells, yet many may receive from the ſpirit of God this and ſuch like gifts (and in a greater meaſure too than ſome of their converts) who yet are void of the ſincere and choice grace of Gods ſpirit: as *Judas* may be conceived to have been indowed with ſpirituall Gifts qualifying him for his Apoſtleſhip and miniſtry, and yet ſtill a reprobate, and farr from haveing an holy heart. This is, as diſtinctly as I can apprehend it, and as impartially as I can ſet it down, the ſenſe of this pretended Gift. I call it a *pretended gift*, not but that I acknowledge ſuch abilities, wherever they are, to come from the ſpirit of God in a common way; but I cannot admitt either that every faithfull man muſt expect ſuch gifts ſo to be infuſed into him by the ſpirit, or that he muſt not be accounted faithfull, if he want them; or finally that ſuch Gifts are more peculiar to the preſent and Chriſtian ſtate of the Church, than to any other former eſtate thereof whatſoever.

Now I humbly beſeech all who ſhall take

take the pains to read this, not to be offended with what I have ſaid, or am now about to ſay for the bringing people to a clear underſtanding & a ſober judgment in this matter. Let us be content to conſider the caſe like men of reaſon, and in words of truth and plaineneſſe.

Suppoſe then I ſhould tell the world that there is an Heathen art called *Rhetorick*, and that there have been many naturall men of excellent abilities this way, as *Ariſtotle*, *Cicero*, *Quintilian*, *Hermogenes*, and many other maſters, who have long ſince written bookes of this art, teaching men to ſpeake readily on any ſubject upon a ſudden, & that this has been known commonly amongſt the heathen to have been effected in a moſt copious and eminent ſort, exceeding farr what moſt (if not all) our pretenders to Gifts have attained to; *Muſt* not this be allowed to be truth? Suppoſe theſe men, long ſince dead, who never heard of Chriſt, or his ſpirit, or the gift thereof, could now heare us talke of Quickneſs of thought, and Readineſs of ſpeech, as parts of a ſuppoſed Gift of prayer, might not they *Sect.* 4.

preſently ſtand up and lay claim to this gift? Nay and not onely ſo, but that they taught it, and have left admirable precepts for it; and that theſe two are neither better nor worſe, than the reſult of two parts of Rhetorick (according to their doctrine) the names whereof are Notorious, *Inventio & Elocutio.*

Suppoſe I ſay further, that as the Philoſopher hath obſerved that there is a Natural kind of Logick, which even unlearned men have, by which they reaſon and draw notable ſhrewd conſequences (which our Neighbours very fitly call *Mother-wit*) ſo there is a natural kind of Rhetorick (ſome men naturally are more quick both in thought and ſpeech than others) muſt not this alſo be confeſſed as a truth?

I will onely add one thing more, that there is a kind of *unartificial education* and *inſtitution.* When men *converſe* much with perſons, who are expert in art, and hear them frequently diſcourſe of, and practiſe in, that art, if they have any *natural parts* themſelves, they learn ſomething from them, and ſetting themſelves to *imitate* them, and *practice* by the

the *rules*, they have had given them, they are presently able to do some little feats in that art themselves. Now, is there any thing strange in all this? Is not this what was known and taught in the Heathen World, long before the gift of prayer was thought of in the Christian, that all Arts and Sciences are attained *Naturâ, præceptis & usu*, by mens *natural parts* upon *institution* and *practice*? I would fain hear of any, who attained the gift of prayer any otherwise than thus. Those who have been the suddenest Proficients, that I have heard of (I forbear any instances which look like odious) have, to my knowledge, had persons, of great eminency in this way, labouring with them many dayes together, giving them methods (such as they were) and instructions for the use of them, putting words into their mouth, practising before them, setting them to practise themselves. And these things being notoriously known, what man, that has not sold himself to whimsies, and given up his reason to extravagant imaginations, can conceive or suppose in this case any infusion of a *spiritual gift*, or

muſt not rather acknowledge a *common habit* naturally acquired (I mean by uſual and proper means) the like to which in any other caſe (*cæteris paribus*) may be had at any time; and in which there is no reaſon to conceive any other than a general influence and concourſe of the Holy Ghoſt, ſuch as in other matters accompanies mens exerciſe and induſtry.

Now upon the whole I demand, is it reaſonable to take a piece of an ordinary art, famous even amongſt Heathens, and applying it to a particular Chriſtian Office, to wit that of *prayer*, to diſguiſe it by a new Chriſtian name; and calling it the *Gift of prayer*, to make it preſently a Fruit and ſign of grace? If it had been onely ſaid, that even Ordinary Oratory is a gift of the Spirit, it muſt have been acknowledged a truth; for ſo are all arts and ſciences, not onely Liberal but even Mechanical (ſo was Embroidery Engravcure in *Aholiab* & *Bezaleel*, *Exod*: *XXXV*, 31, 35; ſpinſtry in the Women *ver:* 25, 26; Architecture in *David* 1. *Chron*: *XXVIII*, 11 12) But if men will pretend to have received this as a gift, by a ſudden and more than uſual in-

inſpiration, and not to have come thereby, upon their natural parts, by heareing or reading diſcourſes thereof, by heareing it practiced, by practiceing therein themſelves, they abuſe the world and themſelves. And if they will make ſuch things as theſe ſignes or fruits of grace, they are ſignes truly what the grace in them is, but ſomewhat unluckily: they ſhew indeed, that though they may be good meaning men in this, and in other regards upright and ſound, yet they are in ſpiritual matters marveilouſly whimſicall, unreaſonable and halfſighted; they diſtinguiſh not betwixt *Grace*, **Nature and Art**. *sect: 5.*

I may preſume what has been ſaid is ſufficient to take off the pretence of any ſupernatural infuſed Gift, in this caſe ordinarily received, or to be expected by the faithfull. Now to ſhew, for a more full ſatisfaction to the enquiry in hand, that this *Gift*, as they call it, was, as to its *E*ſſentiall parts, no more appropriate to prayer than to other Chriſtian offices of like nature, I ſhall onely urge the Experience of that age, by giveing in ſhort the General

hiſtory of the Proceſſs of this Gift. After the great ſetters up hereof had imparted this their gift of prayer to the people, that is, taught them to pray by the ſpirit or in the conceived way, did not thoſe very people preſently, by virtue. of this their gift, that is, this readineſs of thought and ſpeech, begin to expound Scripture and to ſpeak in their aſſemblies, as they call'd it? Was not this the way of proceeding? Firſt they learnt to pray by gift: then haveing exerciſed this gift in private families, they begun to repeat their leaders ſermons, and by little & little imitate them, as they had done their prayers. Then they took upon them to exhort and inſtruct private families, that is, they practiced in private, and thence proceded to ſpeak in publick, trying firſt how they could come off in their way of prayer publickly; in which haveing ſucceded they ſtuck at nothing. Can it be pretended that the Gift was different in one and the other exerciſe? Was it not the ſame faculty that qualified them for both? And has not this, or worſe been, the education and in a

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manner ſole erudition of many of them, who practice the miniſtry amongſt thoſe congregations, that withdraw from our Church. I have not written theſe thinges to vilify or caſt a blemiſh upon maſters of Families inſtructing, Catechiſeing, examining their children and ſervants on Lords daies and due times, nor upon their daily worſhipping God by ſober prayers in their Families, which I look upon as every ſuch Chriſtian mans duty, according to his ability and within his proper ſphere; but onely to lay open, fairly and candidly, thoſe artifices by which many pragmaticall men, not without the inſtigation of the Spirit of Pride, have deluded themſelves and others into a conceipt of I know not what gifts of the ſpirit, when God knows all was common and ordinary enough. And this, I ſay, is a moſt evident demonſtration that this Gift, as to its eſſence, is no more appropriate to *Prayer* than *Preaching*, becauſe it capacitated thoſe, who could pretend to nothing but gift, for both: and is, if we call it by its true name, no more than Habit of ſpeech, a naturall and ſomewhat unartificial kind of Oratory.

But

Sect. 6. But it will be ſaid, allowing what we call the Gift of prayer to be nothing elſe but an Habit of ſpeech; attainable by ſuch means as has been ſaid, yet may not we uſe this Habit of ſpeech in prayer ſo, as to conceive our prayers our ſelves in our own words?

I anſwer hereunto, Who doubts but we may? Provided, we *acknowledge* this Habit to be what it is, and *uſe* it according to the *Laws of God*, with reverence to the Majeſty of God, and care we ſpeak not unadviſedly of him or to him; according to the Lawes *of the Church*, with ſobriety, modeſty, peaceableneſs and order, ſo, as to edifie our ſelves thereby in private, and not to diſturb or divide the Church by bringing thereby the publick and ſtated order into diſeſteem: and finally with juſtice to our ſelves and the Common Chriſtianity, ſo, as not to make this the ſole way of praying in a due or Chriſtian ſort, & by a diſuſe of any other to incapacitate our own or our Admirers devotions for the other, & make both our ſelves & them uncharitably cenſorious of all Forms of Prayer, and thoſe who uſe them, that is of

of the whole Catholick Church, except our ſelves and our new (comparatively) inconſiderable party.

CHAP. III.

Sect. 1. *The fifth point of enquiry, touching any advantage of prayer by* Gift *above prayer by* Form. Sect. 2. Edification *the great meaſure by which we are to eſtimate all advantage in this concern.* Sect. 3. *What edification truly means.* Sect. 4. *A frequent miſtake amongſt perſons of honeſt intention about it.* Sect. 5. *That may conduce to private edification, which does not to publick* Sect. 6. *The advantages of Conceived prayer impartially ſet down.* Sect 7. *The inconveniencies of it.* Sect. 8. *The advantages of prayer by Form.* Sect. 9. *The inconveniencies of it.* Sect. 10. *A judgment upon the whole.* Sect. 11. *A removal of ſome pretences againſt the efficacy of Forms.*

HAving allowed, under the cautions before ſet down, ſome arbitrary Sect. 1.

uſe of ſuch ſuppoſed Habit of ſpeech in prayer as ſpoken of, it will be but reaſonable, and conſonant to that Freedome, candour and openneſs, which I in the beginning promiſed in this Diſcourſe, to enquire further, Whether it were not more expedient, that the uſe of *Conceived prayer* in publick, were injoyned, or at leaſt allowed and practiſed, than that of *preſcribed* Forms, by reaſon of the great advantage conceived prayer may be found or imagined to have, above any Formes whatſoever.

And for ſatisfaction hereto, I ſhall impartially conſider the advantages of both kinds, and having compared both, *I* do not doubt but we ſhall find our Church, like her in the Goſpel, to have *choſen the better part, and which* I hope *ſhall never* again *be taken from her.*

Now to make the way more plain to a full and diſtinct ſatisfaction, *I* think it fit to premiſe three things,

Sect. 2. First, That conducency to Edification is the onely meaſure, by which all advantages, conveniencies or profit are to be eſtimated in this caſe. *If* this need any

any proof, greater cannot be required, than that it is made by the Apoſtle, in the ſame chapter which has hitherto been ſo ſerviceable to us, the great ſtandard, according to which the Excellency of all *Gifts* and *Offices* in the publick Worſhip are to be examined. *Let all things be done unto edification.* The matter, there mainly taxt amongſt them, was the uſe of ſpiritual Gifts, more to pomp and oſtentation than a general good. *How is it then brethren? When ye come together, every one of you hath a Pſalm, hath a Doctrine, hath a Tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation.* 1 Cor. XIV. 26. Each glories in adventures of his own Gifts, and through affectation, or under pretence of improving each himſelf, in ſtead of conſulting publick edification, you introduce publick confuſion. Upon which immediately follows the paſſage now mentioned, *Let all things be done unto edification.* No exerciſe of Gifts in the Chriſtian Aſſemblies is to be allowed, which conduces not to the common edification. So much then as either of theſe ſorts of prayer edifies more than the other, ſo much of advantage

hath it of the other:

Sect. 3. Secondly, it is neceſſary we take ſome account what is the real and true import of this term Edification: for it is to be acknowledged, *Edifying* is a term which the people much uſe, and little underſtand. It properly ſignifies *Building*, as we knows and is onely Metaphorically ſpoken of the ſoul, to ſignifie any advance, improvement or betterment of it in matters ſpiritual: and there being but two Faculties of the reaſonable ſoul, capable of perfective habits or diſpoſitions, namely, the *underſtanding* and the *will*, we may ſoon take an account particularly, what can be the utmoſt notion or extent of *Edification*, when applied to ſpirituals. The Underſtanding is edified, when it is further inform'd or inſtructed in the knowledge of ſome matter of worth or concernment. Thus Edification ſignifies improvement in knowledge, or (whlch is reſolvible into the ſame) recovery of what was forgotten. The Will is edified, when it is drawn either to the love and practice of ſome Duty before neglected, or to the deteſtation and abandoning ſome ſin before adhe-

adhered to. Thus Edification ſignifies improvement in holineſs or good reſolution. In ſumme and moſt plainly; a man is then edified when he is made any whit the *wiſer* or the *better*. and beyond this Edification is onely a Chimera, or well meaning miſtake.

I do acknowledge the warmth of affection under holy Offices, the motion of Tranſient remorſe and ſorrow, fears, hopes, and joys, have been, and to this day are, miſtaken by many honeſt (though weaker) perſons for the greateſt if not the onely Edification. When they have found their affections a little moved, perhaps to ſuch pitch as that a tear has dropt, they have eſteemed themſelves ſingularly edified. Now though it muſt be allowed commendable and happy, in general, to pray and hear with ſuch tenderneſs of heart, yet it is a great and may be a very fatal errour, to take ſuch paſſions for the graces of Gods ſpirit, or the motion thereof for ſolid and ſerious Edification. *Felix* we read *trembled* at *St. Paul's* preaching, yet had not therefore a jot more of the *feare* of God in him. They who are *Sect. 4.*

reſembled to the ſtony ground *heard the word and anon with joy received it*, but were notwithſtanding as fruitleſs in effect, as they on the high way, who admitted or regarded it not at all. And we know, how ſhallow ſome mens paſſions ly, how ſoon they are come at, how eaſily ſtirred, and to how little purpoſe. St. *Auſtins* confeſſion of his concernment even to teares for *Dido* in the Poeme, which he knew to be onely a Fable, is notorious: and every daies experience of effects of the like nature, upon occaſions which I will not name, ſhewes, that to be moved with pathetick ſubjects and harangues is as common and natural, as it is uſually fruitleſs. The utermoſt that is to be determined in the behalfe of theſe ſenſible commotions I conceive is, Firſt, That if while a mans mind is really intent and ſeriouſly engaged in devotion, the more ſenſitive ſoule ſhall at that time conſpire therewith in ſuitable affections, ſuch devotions are a great deal more comfortable to the performer, and he may be ſure acceptable to God; it is an argument we ſerve God in ſuch caſe with our whole man, according to that

at of *David*, *my heart and my flesh joyceth in the liveing God*. Psal. lxxxiv 2.

nd, secondly, that these little parox. sm of pious affections, even when meing upon us more unawares, their frequent returns or more sting impressions, which some times ey may make on the soul, may rve, as previous dispositions, to repare the Soul to the hatred of sin, the love of God, to a serious tem- er, and steddy resolutuion of duty. ut where they uncertainly come and o, where they neither proceed from a ind so imployed and engaged, as be- ore said, nor prevail to imprint any hing on the mind for a change to the etter (which God knowes is two com- nonly the case) they are triviall, and ttle or not at all to be valued, if not allacious. Reall edification still may ot be concluded more, than what be- ore resolved: so that the issue, in our resent case to be tried, is no other han this, Which kind of prayer most onduces to the makeing men *wiser* or *Holyer*.

And, *lastly*, it is to be considered by *Sect.* 5. way

way of promiſe, that there may be a *private* edification of a mans *ſelf*, as well as a *publick* edification of the *Church*; and that what may conduce to the one, may not equally contribute to the other. This is plain out of the forementioned chapter to the *Corinthians*, *ver*: 3 *and* 4. *He that propheſieth ſpeaketh unto men to edification and Exhortation and Comfort, He that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himſelf; but he that propheſieth edifieth the Church.* The gift of tongues might edify the particular owner, but it did not ſo much edify the community of the Church, as other more intelligible gifts.

Theſe things thus premiſed, *I* ſhall faithfully and impartially, upon long thought, and poſſibly ſome experience, endeavour to determin the caſe above putt, not at all detracting from the merits of what they call the gift of prayer.

Sect. 6. To begin with what may be ſaid for it: Conceived prayer hath theſe advantages,

Firſt, it is ever *New*, and ſo more apt to gratify curioſity: and therefore thoſe who

who come not to the publick Worship out of sober Devotion, but Vanity or Custome, will more greedily come to it, and be less weary of it than prescribed Forms; its novelty both inviting to it, and allaying somewhat the *Tedium* or wearisomness of its length. In a word, it serves to bring many such people to Church. And the same is the true reason, why we have many Hearers of our *Sermons*, who will not at all come into the Congregation at the *Service*: The Sermon is always new; the Service is not. Now though such persons look upon it as a great part of Religion in them to affect Sermons so zealously, yet it may be feared that this is one point which may be added to the Inventary of their mistakes, that they distinguish not herein, betwixt Curiosity and Devotion.

Secondly, Conceived Prayer may be sometimes more suited and apposit to the particular seasons and occasions, than the general prescribed Forms: But this according to the abilities of the Performer, and as he is Master of phansie and speech, of consideration, invention and

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Elocution. And Thirdly, For these reasons (namely, its Novelty allwayes, and Particularity sometimes,) it is more apt to affect common and more slighty minds. Their love, grief, compassion, joy, hopes, are more easily hereby stirred. Now these, though they are, as before said, very commendable and comfortable withall, and well pleasing to God, when they proceed from sober devotion and judgment, yet let any man of reason judge how useless, and of what deceitful and dangerous consequence, they may prove, when they have such an irrational rise, as from Novelty, Phansie and Humour.

Lastly, upon the former accounts it is easily admissible, that Conceived prayer may keep many persons more attentive to it, than they would be to common Forms. Yet so, that this attention cannot alwayes be accounted, nor is readily at first, true Devotion, or an act of direct Worship. It may proceed possibly from the Fear of God, and sense of his present Majesty, that I am so attentive. But yet every act of Worship importing a consent of the mind, and this act

attention being in order to judgment, and that prævious to my conſent, it is plain, the attention it ſelf is not a direct act of Worſhip. For having attentively heard, inaſmuch as all is new to me, I muſt firſt judge, whether what is in the name of the Congregation (and ſo in my name) preſented to God, be generally approveable and ſuitable to my condition, before I can ſay *Amen* thereto that is, before I can either offer it up my ſelf, or conſent that it ſhall be offered up for me. Now I ſay, this act of conſent and intention being in this caſe the firſt proper act of Devotion or Worſhip, it is plain, that neither of the precedent acts, of Attention or Judgment, are ſtrictly to be accounted ſuch.

Theſe I profeſs are the onely advantages, which either my poor experience, conſideration or reading ſuggeſt alledgable for Conceived prayer in preference to Preſcribed Forms: It is more inviting and leſs tedious to ſome ſpirits, it is ſometimes more cloſe and particularly appoſit, it is more apt to affect common minds, and to retain ſome kind of attention; and how farr all, or any of

theſe, are advantages, has been under each head ſtated or intimated.

Now on the other ſide, to deal ingenuouſly, it hath many inconveniencies, and ſuch which concern both the Praier it ſelfe thus uttered, the Performer, and the congregation.

As to the prayer it ſelfe, that cannot be ſo complete and abſolute as otherwiſe it might be, both in regard of matter, form, and the conſent, which it ſhould have from the whole aſſembly to make it their joint ſupplication, or common act of worſhip. In regard of the matter, it muſt needs be much deficient. The generall concernments of a Chriſtian aſſembly are numerous and yet weighty; and therefore need to be repreſented or ſett forth, as neer as can be, if not in expreſs terms (as is done excellently in our Church Litany) yet under ſuch heads as naturally enough compriſe them and ſuggeſt them to the peoples thoughts. Let any man be of never ſo happy conſideration or ready memory, it is not likely, if poſſible, that upon the ſudden or ſome little thought, he ſhould make ſo juſt an enu-

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meration, or even ſummulary of them, as is neceſſary; eſpecially ſuppoſeing that commonly he is to vary expreſſions, if not method. He muſt needs omit many things neceſſary to be confeſt, asked, or given thankes for, through unavoidable lapſe of memory, and being (poſſibly) more affected and carried away with other points.

And in this caſe, I appeal to any, who have been but in a tolerable meaſure ſeriouſly converſant in this kind of prayer in private, where they have fewer diverſions than a vaſt congregation affords, Have they not many times, after haveing forecaſt the particulars of their ſtate in their mind, kneeled down with an intention to make ſuch or ſuch confeſſions, petitions, thankeſgiveings, or interceſſions, which, being more affected with ſome other particulars, they have cleare omitted. If it be ſaid, notwithſtanding theſe omiſſions, God was privy to thoſe intentions, & will accept them for expreſs prayers: I return, ſo he was to the intentions of the mind, in all which was expreſt, and if expreſſion was neceſſary in one, it was in the other; eſpecially,

being a way is obvious which might comprehend (more neerly) all. And, which is more conſiderable, ſecondly, though God be privy to our intentions, man is not; and ſo they who ſhould have joyned with the ſpeaker in prayer, that is all ingaged in the prayer, but himſelf, are at a loſſe.

Further as in this kind ſuch omiſſions are inevitable, ſo is there great danger of more poſitive michief. A man though poſſeſſed actually with the fear of God, may deliver on a ſudden a propoſition, which he could oftentimes wiſh recalled, as not fully foreſeeing its conſequence, when yet in the uprightneſs of his heart he ſpoke it. What miſcarriages there have been of this nature frequent, I will not mention, though at hand; but ſure, ſufficient to juſtifie that Twelfth Canon of the Council of *Milevis*, forbidding a more cautious practice than this, *Ne forte aliquod contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus ſtudium ſit compoſitum.*

This as to the matter of ſuch prayer, and in the next place as to words: though ſome men are more happy in extemporary language than other, yet generaly

nerally the firſt expreſſions which offer themſelves (and which in this caſe moſtly a man muſt take) are not the fitteſt, propereſt and moſt pregnant. Things ſpoken on the ſudden are commonly more rawly, imperfectly and confuſedly expreſt, which conſequently muſt needs be as indiſtinctly apprehended by the auditory. Now certainely care ought to be taken that our *ſacrifices* ſhould be, as neer as can be, *without blemiſh* even in theſe outer parts.

Laſtly, as to the Conſent of the congregation, which any prayer, offered in publick, ought to have to make it their common act, I have already ſaid, that it is moſt neceſſary men judge before they conſent (and truly, too commonly, where conceived prayer is uſed in publick, moſt people are more employed in judging than in praying) now ſuppoſe after judgment paſt in the breaſts of the hearers, many of them ſhall not think fit to conſent to ſuch a confeſſory, petitionary or Euchariſticall paſſage, what then is become of the Common or Publick prayer? Where is the agreement and conſpireing votes of the faithfull,

neceſſary to render it more effectuall? And yet this ſeems to be required by our Lord, *Math: XVIII*, 19. Here then are three or four conſiderable, yet undeniable, inconveniencies attending the prayer thus uttered.

2. As to the Performer or him who is the mouth of the reſt: Though we admit him to be a perſon of happy gifts, of a vaſt comprehenſion, ready thought and memory, and as ready ſpeech, yet no man being the ſame at all times, and he being to repreſent to God not onely his own ſtate and wants (which his own heart poſſibly would more facilly ſuggeſt) but the peoples too; Firſt, his conſideration, memory and invention muſt needs oftentimes be more on the rack, than they would be in the uſe of a mature, well-accompliſht, and known Form, to which in every point his whole ſoul might attend and conſent without ſuch diſtraction, or diſeaſe. And, Secondly, When he ſhall apprehend any thing to be by him too unadviſedly, inſufficiently, or blunderingly expreſt, if he have any grain of Modeſty in him, he cannot but be concern'd and diſturbed

and

and the uneaſineſs of this may be much greater than that of the former caſe, and ſo more conſiderably withdraw his heart from due attention, if not ſometimes almoſt confound him in ſome part or paſſage of his Prayer. Here then is a double Diſtraction attending the publick Performer in this kind of Prayer.

Laſtly, in regard of the Auditory it has certainly theſe inconveniencies.

Firſt, The Devotion of the whole Congregation is tyed not onely to the meaſure of the Miniſters gifts and abilities, which in many are but mean or indifferent, but alſo to all the infelicities of his preſent temper, and the diſorders of his heart. There is certainly much more reaſon to complain of *ſtinting the ſpirit*, if we reſpect the hearts of the people, in this caſe than under well compoſed Forms. Admit a man to be but a mean Maſter of ſpeech, memory and invention, the Congregation, whoſe prayers can be no better than he can on the ſudden pour out, is in a miſerable condition. Admit him to be never ſo great an Oratour, yet no man hath at all times the ſame preſence of mind and readineſs

of utterance. Now it would be a deplorable case, that five or six hundred mens devotions should depend onely on ones, and be subject to be dampt or confounded by his distempers; of which even good men are subject to various. 1. To dulness or grosser indisposition of body, and so of mind. 2. To incogitancy and wandrings. No man so intirely devout, as that he can alwayes set bounds to his thoughts, nor therefore to his expressions. 3. To incumbrances and distractions from without. The Holiest men are many times more affected with worldly concernments and events than becomes them: and no man of reason can think it a tolerable evil, that the devotions of a multitude should be disordered by the distractions of a single person. Lastly, I have already insinuated the mischief, which must redound to the Congregation in publick conceived prayers, by reason of unavoidable omissions, or the deficiencies of memory & consideration, if of no other faculty. Let the incommodities arising from these and other like so frequently emergent cases be put together, & the summe will be very considerable.

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Secondly, conceived prayers are much more difficult to all mixt Auditories, than are known and common Forms. It is a very hard thing to ſpeak ſo plainly, as to make half the common people underſtand, eſpecially when there is no opportunity of interlocutory helps, and a man muſt take the words, which firſt offer. The language of Univerſities and Cities, and of men of liberal education, amongſt whom men, that may be ſuppoſed qualified for this performance, have or ſhould have been bred, is much different from that of the Vulgar. A multitude of neater words inſenſibly inſinuate themſelves, and by uſe become familiar and natural to us, which though they are plain to men of education, are not ſo to the illiterate. Again, what uncouth ſingularity of words, do men given to this conceived way, affect? I liſt not to expoſe any. Upon theſe and perhaps many other accounts (already touched) it is evident ſuch prayers are very difficult, and as they who *occupy the room of the unlearned*, can ſeldome, for want of having underſtood what was ſaid, ſay *Amen* to half, ſo by reaſon of

obscurity or confusion more learned persons are sometimes in no better a plight.

Thirdly the devotion of the Hearers, yea even of the most judicious is put to frequent losses, by reason of the meer novelty of many expressions and things. As before said, after I have heard I must judge before I can consent: and if by reason of novelty, affectation of expression, ambiguity, indigestedness, or any such rub in my way, I cannot readily judge, but hesitate and deliberate touching this or that passage, in the meane time he who prayes is gone on, and now upon a new subject, and I evidently left behind and at losse, and miserably perhaps confounded before my devotion can close in again: and no sooner it may be well fixt, but again lead into the same inconveniency and Maze.

I professe I have not plaid the sophister in any of these charges: I judge in my conscience all men who understand things, and are sober and unprejudicate, must needs acknowledge the truth of what I have said; and it is not impos-

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ſible but that I might have added much more on this Subject.

But it is time now to paſs to the conſideration of common, known, and preſcribed Forms. And firſt as to their Conveniencies.

1. They are more mature and comprehenſive, than are, or can be, any extemporaneous effuſions: and that both as to matter and words. They are made upon conſideration and ſtudy, and not without invokeing the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt. They are afterwards ſcanned and examind by their authours. They then paſs many other learned mens judgments, and perhaps corrections; by all which they are fitted not onely to the publick neceſſities and condition of the people, as to the matter contained in them, but to ſuch facility and naturallneſs of ſpeech as may comply with all mens underſtanding, and withall, to ſuch gravity and reverence, as is due to the divine worſhip.

2 Though it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that by reaſon of that temper, in our people generally, which the Holy Ghoſt objects to the Hebrews (*Chap:* V *ver.* 11, 12.)

that even forms themſelves, when new, are not ſo well underſtood by them as they ſhould be, yet Common formes by being common become generally underſtood. And this is a matter of very great moment: For it is all one in effect whether I pray in an *unknowne tongue*, or in words of a tongue which *I* know, but do not underſtand theſe particular words of it; *ſtill my underſtanding is unfruitfull*, and my devotion confuſed, and the benefit of ſuch prayer little or none at all. Now this our daily experience teacheth us, that there are very few that deſire to be ſerious in their prayers, who are not eaſily brought to pray *with underſtanding* by forms, and ſo with diſtinct edification. We may note therefore that our Lord Jeſus thus taught his diſciples to pray: for he ſaith, not only, *After this manner pray ye* (Οὕτως προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς) *Thus pray ye*, each of which words bears an Emphaſis with advantage to this cauſe, though ſome have ſo wreſted them as to inferre thence the Lords prayer to be onely a pattern for our imitation) but, *when ye pray, ſay our Father*

ther- &c. which words as expreſſly injoin the uſe of this form as any words can command any thing, as hath been ſhewn by a learned man in an Exercitation to that purpoſe. And indeed had not our Lord taught to pray by a form, he had not taught a way of prayer, of which all his followers had been capable. For though ſome, who have nimble natural parts may, by a little inſtruction and practice, be brought to conceive a prayer, as they ſpeak (but many times rather in affected (that I ſay not canting) language than intelligible) ſuch an unartificial education, as before deſcribed, ſufficing to excite and help a pregnant fancy, yet thoſe, who have ſlower conceptions and mean memories, are very difficultly, and not but in a long time, if at all, brought hereto. Yea *I* have known ſome men ſingularly pious, learned and judicious, from whom *I* have ſeen many excellent Prayers written, as being compoſed by them upon meditation and ſtudy, who yet were never able to pray with any tolerable readineſs in the conceived way. And *I* have heard as much of the famous *T. C.* of whom more anon;

but

but perhaps that way was ſcarce known in his dayes. Wherefore I may reckon it as a *Third* advantage of Prayer by Form, that it helps all mens infirmities. God forbid the world ſhould ever be brought to that paſs (as ſome would have had it) that none muſt ever offer up a prayer of their own to God, but ſuch who are able to do it by the pretended gift. Now there is no perſon of whatſoever condition, ſex, or almoſt age, if we ſuppoſe them to have any exerciſe of reaſon, but may be able to pray in this way, and that allowing them ſincerity and underſtanding of what they ſay, as acceptably to God, as the ableſt and moſt exerciſed Chriſtian. By this means doth God in a manner, *out of the mouths of babes and ſucklings* receive glory, and a ſweet ſavour.

A fourth advantage of prayer by form is, that it governs and reſtraines ſome mens extravagant phanſies and deſignes as well as expreſſions. This was noted by *Mr. Calvin*, as his third reaſon why he would have (*Formulam precum & rituum Eccleſiaſticorum*, a form of prayers and of Church rites, from whence

In Epiſt. ad. Prot: Angl.

whence Miniſters might not ſwerve in their publick miniſtration (*ut obviám eatur deſultoriæ quorundam levitati*) that by this meanes a ſtop might be prepared to the variablneſſe and unconſtancy of ſome: And after him by *Dr. Ames*, though a man more adverſe to our Church and Liturgy than every *Calvin* was. *Non deſunt etiam, quibus utile eſt, ut hujſmodi medio, in ſuis meditationibus ac deſiderijs quaſi regantur.* Having determined Forms of prayer, though read out of a book to be lawfull and profitable, his third reaſon for the profitabenleſſe thereof is "There are ſome, "ſaith he, to whom it is an advantage, "that by this mean they be after a ſort "govern'd in their meditations & deſires. It keeps men from many rambling imaginations and fond requeſts in private, and both from thoſe, and Novelties too, in Publick. *Caſ. con. lib. 4. cap. 17.*

Laſtly, it cannot but be a ſecret confort to a Chriſtian mans Soul who uſeth the approved and preſcribed Forms, that in the uſe of them he ſtrictly maintains, & perhaps injoyes & taſts, the ſweet communion of Saints, ſome thouſand c n-

but perhaps that way was scarce known in his dayes. Wherefore I may reckon it as a *Third* advantage of Prayer by Form, that it helps all mens infirmities. God forbid the world should ever be brought to that pass (as some would have had it) that none must ever offer up a prayer of their own to God, but such who are able to do it by the pretended gift. Now there is no person of whatsoever condition, sex, or almost age, if we suppose them to have any exercise of reason, but may be able to pray in this way, and that allowing them sincerity and understanding of what they say, as acceptably to God, as the ablest and most exercised Christian. By this means doth God in a manner *out of the mouths of babes and sucklings* receive glory, and a sweet savour.

A fourth advantage of prayer by form is, that it governs and restraines some mens extravagant phansies and designes as well as expressions. This was noted by *Mr. Calvin*, as his third reason why he would have (*Formulam precum & rituum Ecclesiasticorum*) a form of prayers and of Church rites, from whence

In Epist. ad Prot. Angl.

whence Miniſters might not ſwerve in their publick miniſtration (*ut obviám eatur deſultoriæ quorundam levitati*) that by this meanes a ſtop might be prepared to the variablneſſe and unconſtancy of ſome: And after him by *Dr. Ames*, though a man more adverſe to our Church and Liturgy than every *Calvin* was. *Non deſunt etiam, quibus utile eſt, ut hujuſmodi medio, in ſuis meditationibus ac deſiderijs quaſi regantur.* Having determined Forms of prayer, though read out of a book to be lawfull and profitable, his third reaſon for the profitabenleſſe thereof is "There are ſome, "ſaith he, to whom it is an advantage, "that by this mean they be after a ſort "govetnd in their meditations & deſires. It keeps men from many rambling imaginations and tond requeſts in private, and both from thoſe, and Novelties too, in Publick. *Caſ. con. lib. 4. cap. 17.*

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gregations of the faithfull joining with him, and it may be at that very inſtant, in the ſame prayers. And it muſt needs be ſome ſatisfaction to any meek and modeſt perſon, that his prayers are ſuch, which have paſt the approbation of a Church truly Catholick and Apoſtolical. I would indeed that all men ſhould ſee with their own eyes; but ſome have not the beſt ſight, and by whom can ſuch be better guided, and in whoſe ſentence more ſatisfactorily acquieſce, than by ſuch a Church, and in her reſolution? Beſides, ſuch a concurrent judgment doth no wiſe preclude or infringe my own, but rather addes to me fuller perſuaſion and content. And certainly, if there be any truth in that promiſe of our ſaviour, *that where two of you ſhall agree on earth touching any thing that they ſhall aſk, it ſhall be done for them in heaven*, ſo vaſt a conſent of the faithfull in prayer muſt needs adde much more to the effectualneſs thereof, than if all theſe congregations varied from the other, & each of theſe the next time from it ſelf, as leſſe or more it would be in the conceived way. Theſe are many

many, but I dare not ſay all the advantages of prayer by approved and preſcribed forms.

Now to ſpeak as impartially touching its inconveniencies: and I promiſe not to ſpare one, that I have either heard of, or can imagin. *Sect.* 9.

Firſt, it mayſeem juſtly ſaid, that ſtated Forms, which are allwayes the ſame, cannot be ſo cloſe and pertinent to our particular wants and conditions, both ſpiritual and outward, as thoſe which are in a manner dictated by an heart viewing thoſe concerns. And our wants or eſtates varying, ſo ought our prayers. Now too much generality cannot but be a fault, inaſmuch as things generally conſidered and attended unto more ſlightily affect.

Beſides that, ſecondly, Even uſe and frequency, as ſome ſay (and pretend their experience for their ſaying ſo) breeds dullneſs and incogitance. The lips and tongue can go without the heart, and ſo the heart often overruns them, ſcarce many times giveing them the meeting at the *Amen*.

Thirdly it is ordinarily alledged, or

has been at leaſt (though retorted even by Dr. *Preſton* againſt the very conceived way in publick) that Forms of prayer do ſtint the ſpirit, too narrowly bound mens affections, and as it were cramp their devotions; which have more liberty to take their free courſe and utmoſt flight when they do not follow, but dictate words.

Laſtly, Forms ſeem more ſervile and mean: they ſavour more of the *Jewiſh* Pædagogy than of the Evangelical ſpirit: they are as milk fit for the weaker and ruder ſort. They became the Church in its Childhood, and may become particular perſons while they are yet babes in Chriſt; but neither are particular perſons alwayes to be children, nor the Church ever in Non-age: They become not therefore the preſent Age of Chriſtianity, much leſs of the Reformation. This is the ſumme of the incommodities of Forms, which I am able to produce.

If any deem me to have been too ſparing in this behalf, I profeſs it is, becauſe upon ſerious and long thought, more materials did not occur: and if any per-

perſon will be pleaſed to add to them, I hereby bind my ſelf, when ſuch intimations come to my knowledge, to make a due anſwer to ſuch new inconveniencies, or elſe ingenuouſly to acknowledge, that I am not able to ſee, but that ſuch inconveniencies are irremediable and intolerable.

Sect. 10. And thus now both kinds of prayer lye before us with their reſpective advantages and inconveniencies. Now to make a true judgment upon the conſideration of the whole, comparing both, we will ſay, That which ſoever kind beſides its own conveniencies, is capable of moſt of the conveniencies of the other, and hath leaſt inconveniencies either of its own, or from the addition of ſo much of the other as it partakes of, is certainly to be preferr'd. This rule is ſo reaſonable, that I may preſume it will not be excepted againſt. But ſuch I ſay is Prayer by allowed or preſcribed Forms, eſpecially in publick, and perhaps by arbitrary Forms (though variable) moſt commonly in private: and this will be evident by view of the particulars already laid down.

First, its own conveniencies are undoubted. 1. Maturity, comprehensiveness and more exactness. 2. Intelligibleness, or being more accommodate to the peoples or all mens understanding. 3. Easiness and succouring the infirmities of the weakest. 4. Bounding extravagant designs and phansies, restraining idle suits. 5. The comfort which redounds from the sense of the communion of Saints maintained herein, the satisfaction from our prayers being approved by so competent a Judge as the Church: together with the greater effectualness thereof, in all likelyhood, as being offered with so general consent.

Secondly, Prayer by Forms, and particularly by allowed and prescribed Forms, is capable of all the real advantages of conceived prayer in publick. I said of all its real advantages: for it is no prevarication to say, all its reputed advantages are not real. As namely. 1. The *newness* of a Prayer in general is no advantage of it at all, nor is it any prejudice on the other side to a Prayer, that it is known or old. Can any man say, he is less able to pray with due affection,

fection, becauſe he knows what petitions or parts of prayer the Miniſter will come to next, or underſtands all he will ſay? Rather in all likelyhood, knowledge in this caſe ſhould prepare the heart to a meet temper. Thoſe perſons whom novelty onely, or chiefly, brings to their prayers, are certainly men of very aiery and fantaſtical devotion (let the Reader pardon the ſeeiming contradiction in the terms) The onely caſe, as far as *I* can ſee, wherein it is a commendation to a prayer that it is new, is, when there is ſomething new in the condition of the Supplicant, to which it is accommodate. Now it is well known, upon new occaſions our Church frames new Prayers ſuitable thereto: and Chriſt himſelf, who had the ſpirit without meaſure, doubted not in the ſame caſe to uſe three times the ſame words. But thus taken, the newneſs of prayer reſolves it ſelf into the particularity of it, which was reckoned as a ſecond advantage of conceived prayer. And touching this *I* ſay, foraſmuch as publick prayers muſt be ſuppoſed to be offered up by every particular perſon in the Congregation, whoſe

whose conditions in particulars differ, but agree for the main onely in their generall nature, therefore all publick prayers ought to be conceived in generall terms; otherwise they will not fitt all the particular persons who are to joyne therein. It is therefore no fault of the Confession in the begining of our Liturgy, that it is general: Every man were thereby in some degree a liar, if he should accuse himselfe of those sins, whereof yet another man ought to accuse himselfe. In publick prayers, it must be a mans particular reflexions on his own condition, while he offers up the general forms, that must make them particular. Thus he that reflects on the peculiar errours of his wayes, on his omissions and commissions, when he repeats the generall confession, makes the confession as particular to himself, as any publick confession of sin ought to be. And beyond this, particularity in publick prayers, as is evident, would be no virtue at all. Nay, any conceived prayers whatever, can no otherwise than thus become particular to a mixt auditory. And as to the 3. advantage of conceived prayer, that it

it is more apt to affect, I ſay, that, beſides that this is not true as to all, and it may be as to very few beſides the performer, ſuch devout and particular uſe and application of publick forms, as juſt now ſpoken of, will make them as apt to affect as any publick conceived prayers: for that conceived prayers are forms to all but him, who makes them. The ſame is to be ſaid as to the 4th and laſt advantage of conceived prayer, that it is more apt to keep men attentive: Let ſuch attention be underſtood, as is an act of devotion, and not of curioſity or in order to judging, and it is plain who uſes publick forms thus, is attentive: and the habituating a mans ſelf thus to uſe them, will keep him attentive. There is nothing in conceived prayer more than in forms apt to retain attention, but novelty; and that we have found more to gratify curioſity than devotion. And I need not tell thoſe, who ever were ſeriouſly verſt in conceived prayer, as to themſelves in private, that they full well may remember even herein they can be guilty of incogitancies, diſtractions, dullneſſe,

and ſuch diſorders. Nimble as their tongues are, their hearts are much too nimble for them. It is thus evident then, that prayer by form may partake of all the reall benefits of conceived prayer, eſpecially if ſo prudently contrived as our publick prayers are, with allowances of meet places & tranſitions for the interſerting ſuch new occurrences, as the particular occaſions of the faithfull may require to be interſerted.

Now thirdly, that prayer by form, by partaking of theſe the advantages of conceived prayer, doth partake of none of its inconveniencies, ſuch as are materiall omiſſions, Errours in point of faith, inſufficient expreſſion, and the reſt, is plain by the meer conſideration of them: all theſe are provided againſt by well compoſed forms.

And laſtly the inconveniences imputed to Forms of prayer are eaſily removeable or remediable. Some of them indeed have in them more of ſhew than truth; As, that frequent uſe ſhould breed dullneſſe: this can onely be true in ſuch, who pray meerly with their lips and not with their hearts. Let men

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honeſtly imploy their ſoules in the prayers they offer up, and they will find forms not at all to damp, but duly conduct Good affection. If we may deale ſincerely & candidly herein, that dullneſſe, which is apt to attend in prayer, ariſes indeed, either from Non-attentiveneſs, or from the antecedent cauſes thereof, indiſpoſition of body, want of preparation of the mind, too much habituateing our ſelves to worldly or ſenſuall affaires and converſe, the guilt of ſome ſins unrepented of, or the like: or if not from theſe, then from prejudice and vain humour: let all theſe be duely provided againſt, and no feare of this complaint. For I need not tell the greateſt freinds of the conceived way, how uſuall it has been (and *I* believe is) for them to complain of lukewarmneſs or being quite cold in Holy things, of hard hearts, of wandrings & diſtractions of formality & having faln from the love of their eſpouſals, by all which I preſume they chiefly mean the want of that more ardent affection, which they have formerly had in holy duties. And *I* am not ſo uncharitable to them as to thinke theſe

complaints to be diſſimulatory pretences, or trifling expletives: they undoubtedly are ſenſible of, and deſire to mourn over, what they thus complain of. But they would take it ill, ſhould I impute this want of temper to *Conceived* prayer, as occaſioned thereby: Let them then ceaſe to do the like to us, and doing both themſelves & us juſtice, acknowledge with us the true cauſe of this malady.

How the want of particularity in publick or private forms may be remedied we have already ſuggeſted: namely by each mans peculiar reflexion within his own breſt, or otherwiſe by ſuch private interſertions as his condition requires.

We have intimated alſo the vanity of that pretence touching *ſtinting the ſpirit* in prayer by form. If by ſpirit, we mean the ſpirit of the auditours, it being tied to words ſtill, and theſe extemporary too, is as much or more ſtinted than in the other way. If we mean the ſpirit of the ſpeaker, that poſſible is under ſome diſtractions whether that may be called reſtraint, we leave to conſideration. However this

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plea can onely be made for ſuch prayer in ſecret, between God and our Souls, which comes not within our preſent compaſſe, and which no man can inhibit us: or if he do, 'tis frivolouſly done, in as much as we can ſtill injoy our liberty herein, both without his leave and knowledge.

There Remains onely the laſt imputation againſt prayer by form to be weighed, that it is ſervile and mean, below the dignity and more liberall attainments of the Goſpell ſtate: Now this is a pretence grounded chiefly upon point of honour, and importing not ſo much any incommodity, as ſomething inglorious. But be it what it will, we will conſider it in its utmoſt force. Will then any man pretend that the *Glorious liberty of the Sons of God*, amongſt other things, imports a free habit of ſpeech? We have indeed, through the bloud of *Jeſus, received the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba Father*: that is, we have, through the ſame bloud, *boldneſſe to enter into the holieſt*. In other terms, we have free acceſſe unto God as a father, according to our needs.

Rom: VIII. 15.

Hebr: X 19.

But does this inferr any internall gift or perſonal ability of utterance, ſo much as an exteriour priviledg, by Gods great vouchſafement conferred on us? And is it not very certain too this liberty may be abuſed? Beſides, can we, by force of this dignation, pretend to any ſuch plerophory of the ſpirit, that all the petitions we ſhall make, ſhall, by vertue thereof, be acceptable, fit, and ſuch as become us? Have we no need of thought, and forming our requeſts? And if we have, where is the diſhonour in acknowledging and practiceing it? Or can it, all being conſidered that has been ſaid, be pleaded by any, that prayer in the conceived way is generally moſt accompliſht and excellent? And if it muſt be acknowledged, both as to matter and form, more imperfect, is it then any honor to pray in a more imperfect ſort? Will it credit the Goſpell, that men upon preſumption of priviledges under it, preſent God with more raw & inconſiderate addreſſes?

Upon the whole then, haveing ſhewn how all the reall inconveniencies of prayer by form may be remedied,

medied, and haveing removed ſuch imputations, which are by prejudice and miſtake affixt to it, its own advantages being beſides ſo great, and it ſelfe capable of all the true advantages ſo much magnified in conceived prayer, I muſt needs give it, eſpecially in publick, every way the preference.

Haveing thus made good the aſſertion touching prayer by known and preſcribed forms, to give *good meaſure, preſſed down, and even running over*, I might here more particularly inſiſt, that conceived prayer neither has, nor in a common way can poſſibly have the conveniences of due forms and that indeed, neither in publick nor private. I will not deny but ſuppoſeing a liberal utterance, it may in private more comply with a large heart: and it may be good, in ſome caſe, in private to allow great affections their free vent, yet all waies with ſobriety and humility. But this I do avow, that ſuch prayer can never be ſo mature and comprehenſive; ſo eaſy to all men, whether to practice themſelves, or underſtand in others; and that in ſtead of governing it muſt needs give way to extravagant

travagant thoughts, phanſies, and expreſſions.

Sect: 11 Notwithſtanding all this, ſome haply may urge their own experience, and plead, that feeling inwardly its efficacy and excellency, they ought not to ſuffer themſelves to be beaten out of it. And to make this argument as plauſible as I can, to give it all the ſtrength which upon full conſideration I am able to ſee it is capable of, We will ſay, there is ſuch a thing as a kind of ſpirituall ſenſe or taſt. And the royall prophet hath warranted the expreſſion, when he ſaith (*Pſ. XXXIV. 8.*) *O taſt and ſee that the Lord is good:* now of this it may be ſaid, as of common taſte (*non eſt diſputandum*) a man is not to be diſputed out of it. And ſuppoſeing that any perſon hereby have perceived a remarkable advantage of conceived prayer, above prayer by form, he ought to ſuffer no diſcourſes whatſoever to perſwade him out of this his ſpiritual ſenſe.

I anſwer hereto, according to what I have above allowed, who goes about it? But this advantage ſtill is private, and though we ſhould admitt this plea

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of ſuch ſpiritual ſenſation to be a ſober one, yet it can be in reaſon preſt no farther, than for mens private uſe of ſuch ſort of prayer, which they feel moſt efficacious to move them, and every way to them moſt excellent. For this can never be proved the publick ſenſe, inaſmuch as there are ſo many thouſands who reclaim and proteſt otherwiſe, that they are not onely ſenſible, but as they think able to demonſtrate to others, as I conceive it hath been in this Diſcourſe already done, that there is much more advantage in knowne and ſtated Forms.

But let us a little more intimately conſider this pretence. It reſolves into nothing elſe but this, that the ſoul is conſcious to its ſelf of its own acts, & the impreſſions made upon it ſelf. Such & ſuch offices or performances may move more ardent affections, and the mind moved therewith cannot but feel them, and perceive that it doth feel them: and then all the reaſon or diſcourſe in the world cannot, nor ought to perſwade us, that we do not feel, what we do feel and are conſcious of. Now I ſay, ſtill of this ſpi-

ritual ſenſe, if it be not Enthuſiaſtical or Fantaſtick, a rational account is to be given. For as in the outward ſenſes, there is no real ſenſation, except there be an object to move them; ſo in this ſpiritual ſenſe, there can be no real perception of ſuch excellency, except there really be ſuch excellency: and that excellency if we are not able to make out rationally to our ſelves and others, it is imagination or humour, which we miſtaking call ſpiritual ſenſe. Upon as particular examination of the caſe as we could make, we have found prayer by Form to have all the real advantages in publick above conceived prayer. And the truth is (ſeeing it muſt be ſpoken out) if conceived prayer in publick be any more efficacious, or apt to move any Hearers than prayer by due Forms, it is onely by reaſon of Novelty; prejudice or Cuſtome. How far thoſe affections are to be valued that meer Novelty raiſes, we have already ſpoken. And as to the other points, it muſt be confeſſed, that many honeſt minds lye under a great prejudice againſt Forms by reaſon of their Education in Factious Times, and

and perhaps (in part) under Factious persons, who have inſtilled into them their own Opinions, and inured them to a kind of Enthuſiaſtick Worſhip of God. Theſe perſons have never been uſed to pray affectionately in any but new and conceived prayers, and therefore they think (as before intimated) there is no praying affectionately otherwiſe. But would theſe good men honeſtly lay aſide their prejudice, would they fairly & with underſtanding read and conſider our Church-Liturgy, would they come thereto with prepared, and devout ſouls, would they thus make tryal of it a little, lifting up *their pure minds* to God in the uſe of it, they would ſoon find, even under it, that tenderneſs of heart and warmth of affection, which they have experienced in the other way, and which, without vanity or diſſimulation, we profeſs to all the World, for the glory of God, we do find under it as often generally, as with due attention and ſeriouſneſs of mind we are converſant in the uſe of it. They would find alſo, by its comprehending more univerſally all their wants, and the wants of the whole

Israel of God, the great advantage to be on this side; and that there is no such spiritual sense against us in this case, as is pretended. And thus I have endeavoured in all calmness, candour and sincerity, and with the greatest reason and evidence that I could use, to satisfie this question, as to the real intrinsick merit of the Cause.

CHAP. IV.

Sect. 1. *The sixth Enquiry. An account of the practice of the Catholick Church in this case.* Sect. 2. *The Original and progress of* conceived prayer *in publick, since the cessation of miraculous gifts.* Sect. 3. *Some respect is to be had to the* Genius *of each age.* Sect. 4. *An account of the temper of our people, or those who pretend to be Sons of the Church of* England. Sect. 5. *What the Laws of our Church may seem to allow as to conceived prayer in any case.* Sect. 6. *What in prudence may be done without disobedience to the Church.*

Sect.

Sect. 7. *The Concluſion of this Diſcourſe.*

THE laſt point of Enquiry propounded was, what has been all along from the Primitive dayes the practice of the Catholick Church? For certainly, Chriſtian Religion not being new, nor changeable, Univerſal and conſtant practice ought to ſway much with us in all points thereof.

And in anſwer to this Enquiry, I ſay ſummarily, it cannot reaſonably be denied, (1.) That ſome paſſages in our preſent Liturgy were Forms uſed in the very Times of the Apoſtles, if not by the Apoſtles themſelves. (2) That if ſome of the Apoſtles themſelves did not compile Liturgies, yet ſoon after the Apoſtles dayes there were Liturgies compiled, uſed, and generally injoyned by the Biſhops of the more Eminent Churches. (3) That it is certain that ever ſince the beginning of the Fourth Century till the Reformation, there have been generally no other prayers but known and approved Forms, publickly uſed by allowance in the Catholick Church. And Laſtly, none other publickly, ſince the Re-

formation, by allowance in our Church.

For making good the first Assertion, I will produce Three or Four instances. That passage *Sursum corda*, **Lift up your hearts**, St. *Austin* saith to be *Verba ab ipsorum Apostolorum temporibus petita*, words derived from the time of the very Apostles, as well as used in the Liturgy of the Church in his dayes. And we find them expressly, with the answer to them, **We lift them up unto the Lord**, *Habemus ad Dominum* in the Liturgy ascribed to St. *Peter*, and with very little addition in that ascribed to St. *James*, of both which more anon. But the authority of St. *Cyprian* is elder than St. *Austin*'s, who in his Book *De Orat. Dominicâ*, has these words, *Sacerdos ante Orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes, dicendo* sursum corda, *ut dum respondet plebs*, Habemus ad Dominum, *admoneatur*, &c. "The Priest, "*saith he*, in the preface before the "prayer (at the Eucharist we will sup- "pose) prepares the minds of the Bre- "thren by saying *Lift up your hearts*, "that while the people answer *We lift* "*them up unto the Lord*, they may be ad-

"admoniſhed, they ought to think of "nothing but the Lord.

The words which follow, *Let us give thanks unto the Lord*, and the anſwer, *It is meet and right ſo to do*; And then, *It is very meet & right, and our bound duty*, &c. (Ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον, πρέπον τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον σε αἰνεῖν, *&c.*) are alſo found in the Liturgy aſcribed to St. *James*, the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and brother of our Lord, as alſo in that aſcribed to St. *Peter*. They are alſo tranſcribed by S. *Cyril*, S. *James*'s ſucceſſour in the See of *Hieruſalem Catech. Myſtagog.* 5. So is alſo that Seraphick Hymn, *Therefore with Angels and Archangels*, &c. with ſome variation. I might alledge more out of this Office of the Holy communion, eſpecially as to the *Triſagium* or the *Holy, Holy, Holy*, which follows in that Hymn, but deſigning brevity, I paſs to the Office of Baptiſm.

The words *Let us give thankes unto the Lord* are omitted in St. *James*'s copy but: they are in St. *Cyrills* of *Hieruſalem*, as well as in St. *Peters*.

The ſolemn *renunciation of the Devil and all his works, &c.* the *profeſſion of faith* made by the perſon to be baptiſed, and ſome *interrogatories* to theſe purpoſes are certainly derived from the Apoſtles age, if not which is moſt likely,

ly, for the substance, a Constitution of theirs. Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς, &c. *I renounce Satan and his works and pomps*, Clem. Constit. l. 7. And if that Authour be of suspicious credit, or an uncertain age, *Tertullian* is not, who began to write about the end of the second Century. *In Ecclesia, sub Antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo, & Pompæ, & Angelis ejus*, &c. Lib. de coron. mil. *Before Baptism* (saith he) *in the Church under the hand of the Priest, we protest to renounce the Devil, his pomps, and works.* He adds, that being baptised they did, *amplius aliquid respondere quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit*, answer something more than our Lord had determined in the Gospel; that is, undoubtedly they made a longer profession of Faith, than is set down in the Gospel at the institution of baptism. And his saying they did *respondere*, make responsals, must needs inferr some interrogatories put to them by the person baptiseing them.

But *Origen* is expres in this matter, who speaking of Rites and Customes so long in use in the Church, that the ground

ground or Original of them could not eaſily be given, amongſt other points demands, *Eorum quæ geruntur in Baptiſmo, verborum geſtorumque, & ordinum atque interrogationum ac reſponſionum, quis facile explicet rationem?* "Who, "ſaith he, can eaſily unfold the reaſon "of ſome things which are done in Ba- "ptiſm, of the words, geſtures and or- "ders, of the *Interrogatories* and *Re- "ſponſes* —which yet we obſerve and "fulfil, according as we firſt took up, "being delivered to us by Tradition "from our Great *High Prieſt* (Jeſus "Chriſt) or his Diſciples. *Orig. in Num. Homil.* 5. Now this form and practice being ſo early received in the Church, and ever ſince reteined, cannot, as *Tertullian* expreſſes himſelf on a more general caſe, be (*Erratum ſed traditum*) any novelty or corrupt practice, then of late crept into the Church, but delivered to them from the former, that is, the Apoſtolical age.

Laſtly, that in the Apoſtles dayes not onely the people uſed to anſwer their *Amen*, (as is ſufficiently concluſible from

1 Cor. XIV, 16.) but that their prayers uſed to conclude with ſome Doxology or bleſſing of God, which ended in theſe words (Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων) To ages of ages or *world without end*, is clear out of St. *Chryſoſtom* on the Corinthians, who reports this as the cloſe of that *bleſſing with the ſpirit*, ſpoken of there by the Apoſtle, which alſo *Peter Martyr* on the place has acknowledged. *Ex quo loco habemus, etiam primis illis temporibus preces publicas conſuevisſe per hæc verba* in ſecula ſeculorum *abſolvi*. Now in thoſe Liturgies before mentioned, and even in our own, we know how frequently our prayers thus end. Theſe inſtances I conceive ſufficient proof of the firſt Aſſertion.

Homil. 35. in 1 ad Cor.

And as to the ſecond, whoſoever will without prejudice conſider the reaſons there are to believe, that ſome of the Apoſtles left ſome beginnings or grounds of a Liturgy, or of a Form and Order for publick adminiſtration in the worſhip of God, and that even in words known to have been uſed by them in their adminiſtration, will it may be with me judge it highly credible, that the con-

conſtitution of a Liturgy in general did derive from the Apoſtles themſelves. We have in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Three old Liturgies, amongſt others, Two aſcribed to Apoſtles, and one to an Evangeliſt. The firſt to St. *James* the brother of our Lord, whom *Euſebius* affirms to have been by the Apoſtles choſen firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and who ſeems to have acted as ſuch, being Preſident in the firſt Council held at *Hieruſalem* (*Acts* XV, 13.) and delivering the definitive ſentence. The ſecond to Saint *Mark* the Evangeliſt, whom Eccleſiaſtical Authours generally agree to have been the firſt Biſhop of that Famous Church of *Alexandria*. And the third to St. *Peter*. Now touching theſe, I will firſt ſet down the Opinion of two perſons very much verſt in Antiquity, and then my own thoughts with their reaſons. The truly learned Mr. *Thorndike* & Dr. *Heylin*, having allowed it *ſub judice*, how far theſe Liturgies, as to the ground of them, *were theirs*, whoſe names they bear, acquaint us, that upon comparing each of them with the Liturgies of the reſpective Churches, where thoſe

Bibl. Patr. G. Lat. Tom. 2.

Relig. Aſſem chap. 7. Hiſt. of Liturg: Ch: 5.

Holy men longeſt preſided, or which at leaſt pretend them to have preſided there, it will appear, that the Liturgy aſcribed to St. *Peter* is, *for the main and ſubſtance, the foundation and ground of the Roman*; that to St. *Mark*, of the *Alexandrian*, extant in the forementioned collections that to St. *James*, of the *Hieroſolymitan*: whence they conclude them to have been the *Ancient Liturgies of thoſe ſeveral Churches*, and afterwards for the gaining of authority to them, to have had thoſe great Names affixt to them. But they affirm them according to the judgment of the Learned (and I do not doubt but there is ſufficient proof of it) *as ancient doubtleſs as the third Century*. Now for my part, with ſubmiſſion to the more judicious, I conceive we may be more poſitive, & juſtifie what we ſay, if as I have done, we affirm more. I do therefore ingenuouſly and in plain terms profeſs, that as I am not ſo fond and credulous to think that any of theſe Liturgies intirely as we now find them modelled, were of theſe inſpired Authours compoſure, ſo on the other ſide I am not ſo infidel as to think,

that

that nothing in any of them was theirs. There are many paſſages which ſingularly ſavour of the ſimplicity and ardent devotion of thoſe dayes, though this *golden* part be almoſt buried in the *hay and ſtubble* which later ages have heaped thereto. That it is probable there might be ſome ground work laid by theſe Holy men, ſeemes concluſible from what has been ſaid on the former Head: otherwiſe, how ſhould thoſe paſſages come ſo earlily and univerſally into the Church, if none of the Apoſtles had uſed ſome more conſtant Order, than what is of extemporary ſuggeſtion, in publick Offices, and the very Forms of words which they uſed, had not been long known, obſerved and recorded? Nor doth it at all hinder, that though theſe Liturgies are aſſigned to different Authours, yet in many ſubſtantial parts they ſo agree, as if one hand had been in them all: for it is no wonder that there ſhould be much concord, even in words as well as things, amongſt thoſe who had all been bred Diſciples under the ſame Maſter. And we are to remember, what we have from as ancient a Father as moſt

Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7. extant, Μιαγὰρ ἡ πάντων γέγονε τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ὥσπερ ἡ διδασκαλία, οὕτως καὶ παράδοσις. *As the Doctrine of all the Apostles was one and the same, so was their Tradition* as to outward Order. And in the other corrupter parts, which came not from the Apostles, these Offices might have, if not the same interpolators, yet of the same judgment. But that which swaies me most to this mind, is what I confess I am not able to answer if it be, as it is, pleaded for them: especially as to that ascribed to St. *James*, the evidences are many and strong. First, we find this Liturgy in the Church of *Jerusalem* in St. *Cyril*'s dayes, who comments thereon, as to divers passages, in his Mystagogical Catechises. Now this *Cyril* flourished about the Year of Christ 350. Secondly,

Bibliotheca Sanct. lib. 2. I find in *Sixtus Senensis*, to whom I am referr'd by the Publishers of this Liturgy touching its authority, that *Proclus* Archbishop of *Constantinople* (according to usual calculation about the year 418) who was a stout oppugner of *Nestorius* in the third General Council at *Ephesus*, owned a Liturgy beginning as this doth, *ut veram & germanam* Jacobi *Scriptu-*

ram,

ram, as being St. *James*'s genuine Work, and that it was uſed as ſuch in the *Greek* Church. And Laſtly, what prevaileth moſt is the ſuffrage of the Fathers in the ſixth General Council, begun at *Conſtantinople*, but denominated from *Trullo* where it was finiſhed, who avow in defence of their Thirty ſecond Canon, or the rite which they thereby enact, that S. *James the brother of our Lord, according to the fleſh—in an holy Office or ritual delivered to them* (Ἐν ἐγγράφοις) *in writing* publiſhed that ſo it ought to be done. And we find it accordingly in that Liturgy, which bears his name. Now whether that rite of mixing water with the wine were really a Tradition of St. *James*'s or no, it mattereth not to my purpoſe: It is not eaſily ſuppoſeable, that Two hundred twenty ſeven Fathers (for ſo many there were in that Council) ſhould urge an authority of dubious repute, or alledge a Book to be then received, which was not received. And this is evidence ſufficient to prove, that in the Ancient Church, which was nearer the Apoſtles times, and had more advantage to ſearch the truth, it was no wiſe doubted but

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ſome of the Apoſtles were Authours to the Church of a publick ſtated Form of Worſhip (which is all I contend for) however thoſe Forms are not come ſincere to us. This as to the Liturgy aſcribed to St. *James*. There are ſome authorities which I could produce for that of St. *Marks*, and the other of St. *Peters*, indefinitely, that thoſe Holy men were reputed to have left Liturgies to their Churches, I do not ſay theſe intirely but in part, for I avow theſe abominably corrupt: but what I have ſaid is enough to my deſign in the aſſertion I have laid down.

Now if any one ſhould judge the firſt part thereof, that ſome of the Apoſtles did deliver the Grounds of a Liturgy to the Church, ſcarce evident, yet thus much is beyond controverſie, that Liturgies under theſe names (particularly that attributed to St. *James*) were extant in the times alledged, and that is the firſt proof which I produce for the later part of that my ſecond Aſſertion, That ſoon after the Apoſtles dayes, there were Liturgies compiled, uſed, and generally injoined by the Biſhops of the more eminent

nent Churches. As to the compiling and use of Liturgies, it is plain that one of these, as to the ground of it, could not be of later date than the Third century, if of so late. And as to the injunction of Liturgies, there cannot be clearer evidence demanded, than expres's Canons of Councils or Synods. Now it is beyond question, that in early dayes it was provided in the Christian Church, that the Prayers approved by Councils should be publickly used: and if any other were requisite, yet none should be of publick use, till such time they had passed the Councils or the Bishops approbation. And particularly to this purpose, the Council of *Laodicea* held according to *Baronius* about the year 314, or 315, which first and best settled the Canon of Scripture (the Old Testament, if I mistake not, fully as we receive it as to the number of Books, and the New one so too, within one) that Venerable Council I say, has this Canon, Περὶ τοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ, μετὰ γλυκασμῶν Εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς Εὐκαιρίας, καὶ ἐν Κυριακαῖς ὁσάκις χρὴ, Can. 18. *That there should be alwayes the same Order* (Form or Liturgy) *of Prayers, both at Nine a clock*

Vid. Baron. in appen. ad To. 4.

clock (in the Morning) *and in the Evening*. Here is an injunction by a Council; which because some would so construe, as to reconcile it with a liberty of every Ministers framing his own Forms, provided he use constantly the same, we will add to the Canon the Gloss, which its old Commentator put upon it, which interprets it directly against this sense, that *those who had a mind might not* Εὐχὰς ἰδίας συντιθέναι, *compose their own prayers, & say these in the Assemblies, but that* τὰς αὐτὰς Εὐχὰς, ἤγουν τὰς ἤδη παραδεδομένας, *the same prayers*, that is, *those which were already received by tradition, should be made in each Assembly*. For confirmation of which sense, he cites the Twenty third Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, as being to the same effect with this, by which it was ordained, Τὰς κεκυρωμένας παρὰ τῆς Συνόδου Εὐχὰς παρὰ πάντων λέγεσθαι καὶ μὴ Νέας ἄλλας, *That the prayers appointed and authorised by the Synod should be used, and not other new ones*. By which report of this twenty third Canon of *Carthage* by *Zonaras*, it is evident, that either the Latin copies, extant in the *Magdeburgenses*, *Carranza*, &c. are faulty as to that 23. Canon, if not others,

Zonar. in Concil. Laodic.

In Cod. Can. Afric. Can. 103.

others, as ſome ſeem to have proved, or that we are to underſtand thoſe words in it [*cum Fratribus inſtructioribus contulerint*] of ſome Biſhops *conferring about the new prayers* ſpoken of, with *ſuperiour Biſhops* or the Fathers in a Council, & procuring their approbation and authority thereto. And the above celebrated Doctour *Heylin*, proves by the three preceding Canons, the 15, 16, and 17, (much to this purpoſe) & by the ſubſequent, Can. 19, that the ſenſe of the Council is for ſtated Liturgies, and the other cannot poſſibly be admitted, without deſtroying the deſign of the Council in them all: which will be evident to any one who will peruſe the Canons thereof. Hiſt. of Liturg. Ch 6.

The next evidence I ſhall produce ſhall be in the following Age, the Canon of the Council of *Milevis*, held, as is evident by the very preamble of the Acts, under the Empire of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; and therefore about the year 403, or 404, *Placuit & illud ut preces vel orationes quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio*, &c. "It alſo hath ſeemed good unto "us, that thoſe prayers and ſupplicati- "ons which have been approved in the C. 12

"Council, and such prefaces (I suppose in celebrating the Eucharist) and "commemorations be used by all. *Nec aliæ omnino dicantur in Ecclesia nisi quæ à prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in Synodo fuerint*; "And that none o-"ther at all be used in the Church, but "such which have been examined by "the more prudent (and such certainly were the Bishops of the Churches reputed) "or approved in the Synod. The reason (above touched) of this their constitution is most wholesome, namely, for the prevention of errours and innovations in Faith, which may be very successfully insinuated into mens affections by new and arbitrary prayers.

From henceforward, it were easie to be copious in producing the Canons of subsequent Ages: for scarce a Council past without some reference to, or reinforcement of, such former constitutions. I will mention some in the succeeding Ages, that it may be evident, what was the constant practice of the Church. The Council held at *Agatha* (now *Agde*) in *France*, about the Year 506, has its 21. Canon to our purpose. *Quia convenit*

or-

ordinem Eccleſiæ ab omnibus æqualiter cuſtodiri, ſtatuendum eſt, ſicut ubique fit, &c. To the ſame effect effect the Council of *Pau* (*Epannenſe*) in *Burgundy* about 2 or 3 yeares after; the Council at *Girona* (*Gerundenſe*) in *Spain*, in the year 518. *Primùm ſtatuitur ut unaquæque provincia in officio Eccleſiæ unum ordinem teneat.* Their firſt Canon is that "*Every* province obſerve the *ſame order* in the *ſervice* of the Church. To omit others, in the next age, the fourth council at *Toledo*, held about the year 632, has its ſecond Canon thus: *Placuit ut unus ordo orandi atque pſallendi a nobis per omnem Hiſpaniam & Galliciam conſervetur: unus modus in*, &c. *quia in unâ fide continemur & regno*" We think fit there be obſerved "one order of praying and ſinging "throughout all *Spain* and *Galicia*, one "form in celebrateing the ſolemnities "of the Eucharitt, one form in the "Evenſong &c. becauſe we are all of "one faith and Kingdome.

Should I proceed beyond theſe years in alleging authorities of this nature, it would be ſaid againſt all that follow, corru-

ptions & Popiſh ſuperſtitions now came in apace on the Church, & it is not much to be heeded what the councils in ſuch dayes enacted. Now though all men know the pretended univerſal Biſhop had not yet ſo eaſily gotten the univerſal power, as to overaw all Councils and ſynods, yet on this ſuggeſtion, *I* will give my reader no more exerciſe for patience on this ſubject; theſe things having, I preſume, both abundantly proved my ſecond aſſertion, and made a fair way for the *third*.

Which being negative, the proof indeed would rather lye on the other ſide (poſſeſſion being, as they ſay, a good title, till a better is made out) The Church were to be produced which in ſome time, betwixt the daies from whence we have dated Liturgies & the reformation at *Geneva*, did allow arbitrary or conceived prayers. But this indeed being not to be done, we will give it as good a proof as the caſe will admitt, and ſuch, the foundation of which we have already laid. We will then ſuppoſe (& the ſuppoſition will be deemed violent by none, who have read any

any thing, and obſerved the ſeverity of thoſe ages in points of Eccleſiaſtical order and diſcipline) that in former daies men did not, as they do now in our country, make lawes and never keep them. If Eccleſiaſtical order was once enacted, it was ſtrictly obſerved: excommunications then were dreadfull, and pennances heavy. So that haveing found the obſervation of Liturgies ſo expreſly decreed, and theſe decrees ſo frequently all over the Church iterated and enforced, in every particular province whither the Church had ſpread it ſelfe, we cannot think the allowed practice of the Catholick Church was contrary to its direct and ſo often repeted lawes. On the otherſide we may conclude the cenſures of the Church to have been brisk & ſevere againſt all who affected innovation in this caſe, and in any the leaſt regard made attempts thereto.

I remember not at preſent, in my ſmall reading to have met with any, who varied from the publick received or appointed Forms of Worſhip, but ſuch who being themſelves infected with

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ſome Hæreſie or other, had a mind to ſpread their contagion, and uſed this as the leaſt ſuſpicious, and moſt effectual courſe of inſtilling its poiſon into the people. Thus *Paulus Samoſatenus* Biſhop of *Antioch* about the year 262 (according to *Euſebius*) took away (*Pſalmos & Cantus, qui ad Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti honorem decantari ſolebant, tanquam recentiores & à viris recentioris memoriæ editos* &c) "The Pſalms & Hymns, which "had been uſed to be ſung in the Church "to the praiſe of God and Chriſt, pre-"tending them to be new and compo-"ſed by men of later date (though it ſeems they had been uſed before his time) "and introduced new ones of his own: but this in order to the magnifying of himſelf, and ſpreading his own Hæreſie againſt the Divinity of Chriſt.

Now how this was taken, though in a Biſhop of ſo eminent a Church, the ſame *Euſebius* reports. A Council was called at *Antioch*, whither reſorted *almoſt infinite Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons*, by whoſe unanimous conſent he was cenſured, and particularly for this practice; as appears by the very Conciliar Epiſtle

Eccleſ. Hiſt. li. 7. cap. 22, 23, 24.

Epiſtles He was, *ab omnibus ſub Cœlo Ecclesiis excommunicatus*, Excommunicated by all the Churches under Heaven, depoſed from his Biſhoprick, and refuſing to ſubmit, extruded by the *ſecular arm* of *Aurelian* the Emperour, with *the greateſt diſgrace*. Ca. 2

Afterwards the *Arrians* attempted much a leſs change in the Doxology, uſed at the end of the Pſalms, about the middle of the Fourth Century, ſome of them ſinging one while in ſtead of *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*, onely thus, *Glory be to the Father, and the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt*; and after a while, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt*, both which though admiſſible in a good ſenſe, eſcaped not ſudden notice and cenſure. *The Shibboleth* was ſoon perceived and checkt, being univerſally diſapproved, rejected and overruled by the Orthodox Church. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 19. &c.

What kind of Prayers the *Audians*, as *Epiphanius*, or *Andæans* as, *Theodoret* calls them, uſed, I do not find recorded. Theſe were a ſort of *Anthropomorphites*, generally of a very ſtrict life, but refu-

ſome Hæreſie or other, had a mind to ſpread their contagion, and uſed this as the leaſt ſuſpicious, and moſt effectual courſe of inſtilling its poiſon into the people. Thus *Paulus Samoſatenus* Biſhop of *Antioch* about the year 262 (according to *Euſebius*) took away (*Pſalmos & Cantus, qui ad Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti honorem decantari ſolebant, tanquam recentiores & à viris recentioris memoriæ editos* &c) "The Pſalms & Hymns, which "had been uſed to be ſung in the Church "to the praiſe of God and Chriſt, pre-"tending them to be new and compo-"ſed by men of later date (though it ſeems they had been uſed before his time) "and introduced new ones of his own: but this in order to the magnifying of himſelf, and ſpreading his own Hæreſie againſt the Divinity of Chriſt.

Now how this was taken, though in a Biſhop of ſo eminent a Church, the ſame *Euſebius* reports. A Council was called at *Antioch*, whither reſorted *almoſt infinite Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons*, by whoſe unanimous conſent he was cenſured, and particularly for this practice; as appears by the very Conciliar Epiſtle

Eccleſ. Hiſt. li. 7. cap. 22, 23, 24.

Epistles He was, *ab omnibus sub Cœlo Ecclesiis excommunicatus*, Excommunicated by all the Churches under Heaven, deposed from his Bishoprick, and refusing to submit, extruded by the *secular arm* of *Aurelian* the Emperour, with *the greatest disgrace*. Ca. 2

Afterwards the *Arrians* attempted much a less change in the Doxology, used at the end of the Psalms, about the middle of the Fourth Century, some of them singing one while in stead of *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*, onely thus, *Glory be to the Father, and the Son, in the Holy Ghost*; and after a while, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, both which though admissible in a good sense, escaped not sudden notice and censure. *The Shibboleth* was soon perceived and checkt, being universally disapproved, rejected and overruled by the Orthodox Church. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 19. &c.

What kind of Prayers the *Audians*, as *Epiphanius*, or *Andæans* as, *Theodoret* calls them, used, I do not find recorded. These were a sort of *Anthropomorphites*, generally of a very strict life, but refu-

sed to hold communion in Prayers with any, though never so blameless and upright Christians, except such who were of their own Sect: which practice of theirs *Epiphanius* calls, as it was indeed, *most grievous and horrible*. For this cause amongst others, *Audius* himself was censured by the Church, and afterwards banished into *Scythia*, where, and amongst the *Goths*, he ended his days; and his Followers being adjudged *Hæreticks* and *Schismaticks*, the Sect in some time, of it self fell. By these instances it is plain enough what was the sense and practice of the Church, in reference to those who innovated the least, in point of the Publick Prayers or Worship. For though it may be said, these several persons or parties were censured rather for the Hæresies couched in their new formd devotions, than for the making to themselves new Forms, yet it must be together acknowledged, that their very making of New Forms, or attempting upon the Old, being adjudged one particular, which amongst others is recorded, or taken notice of, to have made up the summe total of their respective Hæresies

Epiph. contr. Hær. lib. 3. Tom. 1.

reſies and Schiſms, ſuch practice cannot according to the judgment of the Church in thoſe dayes be looked upon as innocent, much leſs allowed and well eſteemed. And withall it appears how juſt reaſon the Church has had, both for due compoſing and preſcribing Liturgies, as finding ever no more ſucceſful expedient for the preventing the ſubtle ſpreading of Hæreſie, and preſerving the Unity of Faith and Doctrine, than Uniformity in the publick Worſhip. In which care of preventing the one, and preſerving the other, if we will allow the Church to have perſiſted, we muſt admit what is contended for, to have been her conſtant practice ever ſince that firſt conſtitution of Liturgies. And if it be but juſt and reaſonable that the Church ſtill perſiſt in ſuch endeavours (as certainly the experience of this Age has ſufficiently convinced it is) then is it fit ſuch order be ſtill maintained.

For a concluſion in this particular, I muſt not omit, that long ſince there has been an expreſs challenge made and publiſhed, by a moſt learned and ſincere perſon (one who had read as much it M. Herbert

Thorndike, Juſt weights & meaſures, cha. 16. A. D. 1662.

may be as any man in the Age, and who as well underſtood the controverſies of our dayes as any other whoſoever) to produce any one prayer made by Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon, by his own private gift, in the Pulpit before Sermon, for fifteen hundred years after Chriſt. The publick Liturgies were indeed uſed before Sermon; but no prayer at all of the Miniſters own making, in which the people were to join. The Miniſter might himſelf kneel down before he began to preach, and in private betwixt God and himſelf, implore the aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit in that ſo great Work: but that he made a ſolemn Prayer of his own in the behalf of the people, is utterly denied, and any one inſtance in antiquity challenged to be produced; not has the challenge, that I ever could hear of, been yet anſwered, though it have been notorious enough. There is indeed an authority produced out of St. *Chryſoſtome*, by that worthy and learned Gentleman *Hammon L' Eſtrange* Eſq; (though it cannot be ſaid in anſwer to Mr. *Thorndike*, becauſe Mr. *Thorndike*'s Book was publiſht Three years after) yet

yet as may to some men seem, for the contrary opinion, in these words. Τί γάρ. παλαὶ ὄφελος ὁμιλίας, ὅταν Εὐχὴ μὴ ᾖ συνεζευγμένη; πρὸ πολλοῦ Εὐχὴ, εἶτα τότε λόγος. *Where is the profit of preaching if prayer be not joined with it? First goes prayer, then comes the Sermon.* But that this prayer is to be understood of the publick stated prayers, then in use in St. *Chrysostome*'s own Church, is evident by another passage out of Saint *Chrysostome*, where he mentioneth the Deacon (not the Bishop who was to preach) bidding Prayer in this Form, Δεηθῶμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου ἵνα ὀρθοτομῇ ὁ λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. *Let us pray for the Bishop* (who was then to preach, and possibly going up into the Pulpit) *that he may rightly divide the word of Truth* This then here designed, was no prayer of the *Preachers*, but of the People, *viz.* their Common-prayer: and whatsoever prayer was used by the Preacher, was his own in private, as appears by the very prayer, which if any could be, is to be produced against what I say; that I mean of Saint *Ambrose*, the very matter, Form and style of which shews, that he both designed and used it betwixt God and himself,

De propher. obscur. Tom. 2.

ſelf, and that the people had nothing to do therein. I find it thus in *Ferrarius*; whence he had it I can onely conjecture, I have not yet found. *Obſecro te Domine, & ſuppliciter rogo, Da mihi ſemper humilem ſcientiam quæ ædificet, da mitiſſimam & ſapientem eloquentiam, quæ neſciat inflari, & de ſuis bonis ſupra fratres extolli. Pone quæſo in ore meo verbum conſolationis, & ædificationis, & exhortationis per ſpiritum ſanctum tuum, ut bonos ad meliora valeam exhortari, & eos qui perversè gradiuntur ad tuæ rectitudinis lineam revocare verbo & exemplo. Sint verba quæ dederis ſervo tuo, tanquam acutiſſima jacula & ardentes ſagittæ, quæ penetrent & incendant mentes audientium ad timorem & amorem tuum.* I forbear tranſlating, becauſe I would not be tedious: and thoſe Readers, whom this Form concerns, are preſumed to underſtand it. I onely ſay further of it, that had this Prayer been deſigned for the people to bear any part therein, even but to an *Amen*, it would have had a more formal cloſe, as many other prayers, which according to the manner of thoſe dayes being preſented (μυστικῶς) ſe-

De ritu concio. lib. 1. cap. 8.

ſecretly by the Prieſt or Biſhop, ever ended, when the people were to expreſs their conſent, with *per ſecula ſeculorum* (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας) *in an audible voice*; or *per Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum*, or ſome like paſſage: whereas this plainly concludes in an abrupt ſort, and is rather a Summary of ſuch ejaculatory petitions, as that Holy Biſhop uſed ſeriouſly to ſend up to God before his preaching, than any publick or compleat Form. Which being ſufficiently evident to any conſiderative perſon, hereby may ample ſatisfaction be given to thoſe two authorities out of St. *Auſtin*, that look ſomewhat athwart on what I affirm: namely, that produced by *Ferrarius* in the Chapter above mentioned (though with no deſign undoubtedly to juſtifie any ſuch practice as this of conceived Prayer before Sermon, which is no where in uſe in their Churches, that I, or I believe any man ever heard of) *The hour now coming* (ſaith the Father) that the Preacher is to ſpeak) *Priuſquam exerat proferentem linguam, ad Deum levet ſtientem animam*) "Before he employ his "tongue in ſpeaking, (*viz.* to the people) Aug. de Doctr. Chriſt. lib. 4. c. 15.

ple)" let him lift up to God his panting "ſoul, that he may be able to utter "what he has taken in, and deliver "what he has prepared. Who ſees not that the Father intended the private ejaculatory prayer of the Preacher, to the intent before expreſſed? And the other authority alledged out of the ſame Father by the before commended Gentleman, is to the ſame effect. *Paſtor orando pro ſe, ac pro illis quos eſt allocuturus, ſit Orator antequam dictor*; "Let the Biſhop (or Preacher) "by praying for himſelf "and thoſe whom he is to ſpeak to, become a Supplicant before a Dictatour: namely, as St. *Ambroſe* (St. *Auſtin*'s Father, who begot him in Chriſt) had by his forementioned example taught him, in a private and moſt devout addreſs. Still we ſee, the Preachers own private devotion, not any publick prayer, in the name of the people, is preſcribed or recorded.

All that that can be ſaid to the contrary, as far as by my utmoſt ſearch I can find, from any uſe of the ancient Church, amounts only to the *Doubleſalutation*, as it was called. The Biſhop com-

ming up into the Pulpit, said, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, *Peace be unto you*, which after, when it became part of some Priests work to preach, was changed into, *The Lord be with you*, to be used upon the same occasion by the preaching Priest; whereto the people answered, *And with thy spirit*. But this will no whit avail for the asserting the antiquity of such prayers before Sermon, as are in use amongst us. The *Romists* (whether having laid aside generally, or superadded to this antient usage, I cannot say) commonly use before their Sermons the *Angelical salutation* of the blessed Virgin, *Ave Maria, gratiâ plena*, &c. which though now used as a prayer in that Church, yet in its own nature is nothing less. However even this use is Novel; and he, that would have fetched it as high as possible, is not able to plead its rise from any elder author than *Beatus Vincentius Fererius*, who flourished about the Year of our Lord 1410. and first makes mention of it. And the reasons, which they give for the use of it, shew it cannot be of much elder date; it was brought in, say they, *Propter Hæreses in Beatam Virginem*, by Ferrar: *ubi supra.*

reaſon of Hereſies ſprung up in the Church againſt the bleſſed Virgin, as *In principio* was added to the *Gloria Patri* in oppoſition to the *Arrians*, &c. But neither will this do the adverſe opinion any ſervice: ſo that I muſt needs profeſs, I ſee not but the learned Mr. *Thorndike*'s demand or challenge (to have it ſhewn, that the publick prayers of the Church, or indeed any prayer of the Preachers own making, preſented in the name of the people jointly with himſelf, was uſed in the Pulpit, is utterly unanſwerable, as above ſaid) The Liturgy, a great part of it, did go before the Sermon, but no other prayer did publickly intervene betwixt it and the Sermon. And the riſe of ſuch intervening prayers ſhall preſently be ſhewn.

In the mean time, it remains to be made good what was the laſt point above aſſerted as to the practice of the Catholick Church, that our own Church (a moſt ſincere part of the true Catholick Church) never allowed any publick prayers, beſides thoſe in our Liturgy, ſince the Reformation. And we will begin our reſearches as high as we can

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That there were ſome attempts, not without intermiſſions and interruptions, towards a Reformation in the dayes of King *Henry* the VIII(though the Church of *England*, as now it ſtands, cannot be intitled to all his Acts) is not to be denied. What concerns the preſent caſe, is the alteration of the prayers of the (then) Church: and the ſumme thereof (as far as I can find) was, that by his injunctions iſſued out by his Vicar General, according to his direction, *Anno* 1536, "The Curates in every Pariſh ſhould "teach the people to ſay the Lords "Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Com-"mandments in the *Engliſh* Tongue. Afterwards (to wave what was done, as to the publication and allowance of the Bible in *Engliſh*, and of a certain (then at leaſt) excellent Book, intituled, the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian man* in the Year 1545, he appointed, to the end the people might be better acquainted with the prayers of the Church, that the Litany, being put into the Form almoſt wherein now it ſtands, ſhould thenceforth be ſaid in the *Engliſh* Tongue. Beſides this, I find by King *Edwards* injun-

Dr, *Heylins* Hiſt: of the Reform.

ctions, that he cauſed the Primer (but in what Year I dare not affirm) to be ſet forth in *Engliſh* by his authority, to the intent that they who underſtood not *Latine* might pray thereupon. Something alſo was done by him (I ſuppoſe in the aforementioned injunctions) as to a Form of *bidding prayer*, of which more anon. Otherwiſe, the prayers of the Church (ſuch as they were) ſtood in his dayes as they did before, and preſt with the ſame ſeverity: Witneſs the ſix Articles, and the proceedings thereupon. So that no varying from ſtated Forms could be as yet allowed.

In the dayes of King *Edward*, things came on towards more maturity. Immediately after his coronation came forth his Injunctions (many of them the ſame with his Fathers, and others little varied) by diverſe of which ſtrict care is taken for the uſe of ſuch Forms, as then were extant by authority, and of none other. By the 19th. it is provided, *That no perſon ſhall henceforth alter or change the order and manner —— of Common-prayer or Divine ſervice, otherwiſe than is ſpecified in theſe injunctions, until ſuch time*

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as the ſame ſhall be otherwiſe ordered by the Kings authority. The injunctions ſpecifying ſuch order of Common-prayer are the 21. Touching *Reading the Epiſtle and Goſpel in* Engliſh, *and not in* Latine—*And every Sunday or Holy day one chapter of the New Teſtament in* Engliſh *at Matins immediately after the Leſſons; and at Even ſong, after the* Magnificat, *one chapter of the Old Teſtament.* And the 23 *That the Prieſts with other of the Quire, ſhall kneel in the midſt of the Church, and ſing or ſay plainly and diſtinctly the Litany, which is ſet forth in* Engliſh, *with all the ſuffrages following, and none other proceſſion or Litany to be had or uſed, but the ſaid Litany in* Engliſh, *adding nothing thereto, but as the Kings grace ſhall hereafter appoint.* Thus as to the publick prayer of the Church: as to mens more private prayer, the Lawes of our Church at preſent preſcribe nothing, but if I miſtake not the ſenſe of the 33. (or as it may otherwiſe be reckoned the 34.) injunction, there was then a preſcription even as to this: *That all manner of perſons not underſtanding* Latine, *ſhould pray on no other Primer, but*

what was lately set forth in English *by King* Henry *the* VIII: *and such as have knowledge of* Latine *use no other also. And that all Graces to be said at Dinner and Supper, shall be always said in the* English *Tongue.* The *Form of bidding of prayer* was likewise reduced much for the better, and made five times shorter; but still, by the same injunctions, prescribed *to all Preachers in the Realm*: And all this, *Under pain of deprivation, sequestration of Fruits of Benefices, suspension, excommunication, and such other coercion, as to the Ordinary, or other Ecclesiastical Judge, appointed by His Majesty, should seem convenient.* Thus stood things by this blessed *Josias*'s injunctions, in the very conception and forming of the Reformation, before any more mature order could be brought forth.

I will be a little more particular as to King *Edward*'s Acts, because it is by some pretended, that things were better for them, and more liberty allowed in this case under his Reign, than has been since. Which although it were true, as I find no reason to pretend it is, yet it must be acknowledged, many things might

might be born with *in Eccleſiâ conſtituendâ*, while the Church was modelling, which are intolerable when a regular order is eſtabliſhed. To proceed then; While the Kings commiſſioners in all parts took care for the Execution of theſe injunctions, towards the end of this his firſt year was framed by the holy men (moſtly) who afterwards compiled our Liturgy, at the Kings command, *An Order* of adminiſtration of the *Communion* in *Engliſh*, and before *Eaſter* ſent abroad, with the Kings Proclamation in the Front; both, in purſuance of the ſtatute of 1. *Edw:* 6. *c:* 1. for miniſtring the Holy Sacrament to the People under both kinds, with conſideration of which, the Proclamation is prefaced, and then proceeds after this manner. "Leaſt any "man phanſying and deviſeing a ſun-"dry way by himſelf in the uſe of this "moſt bleſſed Sacrament of unity, there "might ariſe any unſeemly and ungodly "diverſity, Our pleaſure is by the ad-"vice of our moſt deare uncle the Duke "of *Somerſet*, Governor of our perſon "and Protector of all our Realms, Do-"minions and Subjects, and other of our "pri-

" Privy council, that the ſaid bleſſed " Sacrament be miniſtred unto our " People onely after ſuch Form and " manner as hereafter, by our authori- " ty, with the advice before mention- " ed, is ſet forth and declared. After- wards, the Kings intentions of carrying on the Reformation, and providing a more compleat Order of publick pray- ers, being declared, it follows; " Wil- " ling all our loving ſubjects, in the " mean time, to ſtay and quiet them- " ſelves with this our direction, as men " content to follow authority, (accor- " ding to the bounden duty of ſubjects) " and not enterpriſing to run afore, and " ſo by their raſhneſs, become the great- " eſt hinderers of ſuch things, as they, " more arrogantly than godly, would " ſeem by their own private authority " moſt hotly to ſet forward. No thoughts yet of every Miniſters forming the pub- lick prayer according to his own gifts; at leaſt no allowance, or even permiſſion of ſuch practice in any the ſmalleſt par- ticulars. For whereas, there being no- thing yet of Common prayer extant in *Engliſh*, but the Litany before mentio- ned,

ned, and this Order of the Communion, there were ſeveral publick occaſions which required to be particularly repreſented in the publick prayers, for theſe there were particular collects framed, and uſed in the end of the Litany. Thus I find by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*'s Articles of Viſitation in the 2. of King *Edw.* 6. "Whether *the Curates* in their "Common-prayers, uſe not the Col-"lects made for the King, and make not "ſpecial mention of His Majeſties name "therein, *Art.* 4. "Whether they doe "not on every Sunday and Holy day, "with the Collects of the *Engliſh* pro-"ceſſion (ſo, as appears by the 23d. of King *Edward*'s injunctions, they then called the Litany) ,, ſay the prayer ſet "forth by the Kings Majeſty, for peace "between *England* and *Scotland*. *Art.* 5.

But ſoon after came forth a riper and more perfect birth: for on *Sept.* 1. the King commended to thoſe godly Biſhops, and other learned Divines, whom he had before employed in the *Order of the Communion*, the framing of a *publick Liturgy*, or *Order of Morning and Evening prayer*, and *of miniſtring the Sacraments*

and Sacramentals, and celebrating all other publick Offices: who readily and chearfully going to work, in a short time finished the design, which they were so well prepared for, and which indeed, as to some considerable parts, was even then in a good readiness. This so finished, they presented in all humble sort to the King; who having received it *to his great comfort and quietness of mind* (to use the words of the Statute) commended it to his Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, by whom being perused, it was declared to be *done by the aid of the Holy Ghost*, and a statute regularly past, that *all and singular Ministers in any Cathedral or Parish Church within the Kings Dominions, should from and after the Feast of* Pentecost *then next coming, be bound to say and use the Mattins, Even song, celebration of the Sacraments, and* all their Common and open Prayer in such order and form as is mentioned in the same Book, and no otherwise. See the statute more at large (2. & Edw: 6. c: 1) as touching the penalties of useing other Forms. Afterwards in the year 1551, upon occasion

caſion of *ſome doubts which had been raiſed in the uſe and exerciſe thereof, proceeding* (as the ſecond ſtatute expreſseth it) *rather from the Curioſity of the Miniſter and Miſtakers, than any worthy cauſe*, this Liturgy was reviewed, *explained and made more fully perfect in ſuch places, in which it was neceſſary to be made more earneſt, and fit for the ſtirring up of all Chriſtian people to the true Honouring Almighty God.* There was alſo added to it a *Form for the makeing and conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons*; and all injoined as before. (5 and 6. *Edward* 6. chap: 1) And thus ſtood the Publick Prayers under the Reformation in King *Edwards* reign.

Queen *Elizabeths* injunctions, as to this point, are much to the ſame purpoſe with King *Edwards*; witneſs the 5th, the 18th &c. But what is moſt worthy of particular remark, in them is *The form of bidding of Prayers*, which more exactly agrees with our preſent Canon (anon to be conſidered) being altered much in the better, and eſpecially in that, for *praying for thoſe, who are departed in the Faith of Chriſt*, the people are onely invited to *praiſe* *Anno* 1559.

praise God for them, and to pray for *themselves*, that they *may have grace to direct their lives after their good examples, and be partakers with them of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting.* And this, amongst the other points, is injoined (as before in King *Edwards* injunctions) to be "observed and kept, upon "pain of deprivation, sequestration of "Fruits and Benefices, suspension, ex-"communication, or otherwise as the Ecclesiastical Judge should think convenient. "The Justice of Peace to assist "the Ordinary for due execution. As to the publick Liturgy, some alterations were made in it in the first Year of this Glorious Queen, considerably conducing to make it more satisfactory. The injunction of it was the same as formerly, onely the penalties somewhat more particular and severe, 1 *Eliz. cap.* 2. & 23. *Eliz. cap.* 1.

These things were onely reinforced (some Explanations of the Liturgy being made by his Majesties Commission) under King *James*, by his Proclamation of *Mar.* 5. in the first Year of his Reign of *England*, and by the Canons of 1603. A-

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to the ſtate of things under our late martyred and bleſſed Soveraign King *Charles* the firſt, and the continuance of ſuch order not onely in our own Church, but promoting it in the Church of *Scotland*, to whom our Liturgy, with ſuch due alterations as accommodated it more to the approbation of that people, was ſent and preſcribed, things are ſo freſh in moſt mens memories, or ſo common in all our little Hiſtorians, that nothing need to be ſaid. All that can be pretended by way of objection againſt what I have ſpoken, touching the allowance of our Church, muſt be grounded upon the 55. Canon, which will come under conſideration in the following Section. In the mean while, I hope I have ſpoken particularly, and demonſtratively enough (as the caſe will admit) touching the practice of the Catholick Church in this behalf.

Now as to the *Original* and *Progreſs* of *conceived prayer* in publick, I have proved, that in the Miraculous age of the Church, there were *inſpired* prayers, and that this is the true Scripture notion of prayer by *Gift*. I have alſo cited, in *Sect.* 2.

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the Front of this Diſcourſe, a paſſage out of St. *Chryſoſtome*, undeniably to the ſame effect. But as to that notion wherein conceived prayer has been of late years practiſed, and is ſtill contended for, I do ſay, the *Thing* is in a manner as new as the *Name*, and neither of them much above one hundred years old. By *conceived prayer*, I mean, a *courſe* of framing publick *vocal prayer* ever *anew*, & as it is ſpoken, according to a mans preſent & *arbitrary conceptions*, in which he is preſumed to be aſſiſted by the *ſpirit* of God. And thus taken, as far as upon ſearch made I can find, both the *Name* and *Thing* appeared firſt in the World at *Geneva*, and that ſome time after *Calvin*'s return thither, as near as I can conjecture, about the Year 1550; Mr. *Calvin* himſelf being the firſt man, whom I can diſcover to have uſed *publickly*, either any new form of prayer of his own making, varied arbitrarily by himſelf, or any ſuch courſe of praying as now deſcribed: but to give that worthy (however in ſome things unhappy) man his due, very modeſtly and ſoberly. Thus we have it reported of him, by *Johannes*

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Budæus one of his *Amanuenſes*, at leaſt one who, *cum duobus ſtrenuis fratribus*, with two able brethren, took many of his Lectures in writing from his mouth, and is owned for this by Mr. *Calvin* with a ſingular character of kindneſs. *Sicuti Lectionum initio eâdem ſemper utitur hic noſter precandi formula, quam nos quoque hic addi voluimus, ut tota ejus docendi ratio nota eſſet: ita etiam ſingulas Lectiones novis ſubinde precationibus claudere ſolet, prout illi ex Spiritu Domini datur eas* EX TEMPORE *formare, & ad Lectionis cujuſque ſubjectam materiam accommodare.* "As in the beginning of his Le- "ctures, this our Doctour alwayes uſes "a Form of prayer, which we alſo have "cauſed here to be ſet down, that the "whole way of his teaching might be "known; ſo is he wont to cloſe each Le- "cture commonly with a new prayer, "according as by the ſpirit of the Lord "it is given to him *ex tempore* to frame "the ſame, and accommodate it to the "ſubject matter of the Lecture. This preface bears date in the Year 1557, and *Calvin*'s prelections on the *Minor* prophets, being the firſt of all his prelecti- In præf. ad prælect. Calv. in min. proph.

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ons now extant (at least amongst his *Latine* Works, others are uncertain) and this his practice beginning with his prelections, it is plain I have reckoned favourably, when I cast it into the Year 1550, or thereabouts. Behold then here the first instance of this kind of publick prayer in the Christian Church, since the cessation of Miracles. And it would seem hereby, that the name *Extemporary prayer* was more ancient than *conceived*. But how far distant this practice of *Calvins* was from that of late and present dayes amongst us, shall appear by the view of *Calvins* own Forms. That before his Lectures was no more than this, *Det nobis Dominus in cælestis suæ sapientiæ mysteriis cum vero pietatis profectu versari, in gloriam suam, & ædificationem nostram, Amen.* "The "Lord grant to us, that we may be so "employed in the Mysteries of his Hea"venly wisedome, as truly to grow in "godliness, to his glory and our own "edification, *Amen.* This in our dayes would be looked upon as a strangely short prayer before Sermon: but such was the modesty of this man, when he brought in first into the Church a Form of

of his own. His Extemporary prayers (as those commonly use to be longer than Forms) did something exceed this, and were for the most part of five or six lines, seldome or never exceeding nine or ten; as any may see who list to consult his prælections on *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and the *minor* prophets. If any should object this to have been his practice only in his Lectures, but that surely at his Sermons he used more liberally to exercise this his gift, though I find little difference betwixt his Lectures and his Sermons, but onely that perhaps they were delivered most of them in a different Tongue and he has pleased to give them a diverse name, yet we will view his practice therein: and though we may still find some footsteps of an Extemporary prayer after Sermon (none before) yet possibly more regularly and conformably to the practice of the Ancient Church, than that at his Lectures: for his practice was rather an Exhortation to, or bidding of prayer, ending with the Lords prayer, than any proper form'd prayer of his own. His Brother *Beza* shall speak his way of prayer before and

Beza in Præf. ad Conc. Calvin. in Job.

after Sermon, who in the Year 1593, thus records it in Latine(However possibly *Calvin* at his Sermons rather spoke in French)*Precatio quam solitus fuit D.* Johannes Calvinus *initio concionum suarum concipere:* "The prayer, which "Mr. *John Calvin* was wont to *conceive* "in the beginning of his Sermons. Here by the by is the first mention, that ever I met with, of *conceiving prayer*, and whether the *Name conceived prayer* doe not owe its Original to this *Beza*'s eleganey in the Latine speech, *Orationem concipere*, I leave to the consideration of some men, whom it concerns to justifie their own terms: yet I believe they will not be able to produce an ancienter or better authority for it. But to return: the Form before Sermon which *Calvin* never varied, as far as I can find, was this. *Invocabimus Deum nostrum Optimum, &c.* "Let us call(or *we will call*) "upon our most gracious God and Fa-"ther, beseeching him that he will please "to turn away his Eyes from those ma-"ny and grievous sins and offences, by "which we constantly provoke his "wrath against us: and because we are

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"very unworthy to appear before his "Majesty, that he will vouchsafe to look "upon us in his Son Jesus Christ our "Lord, and accept the merit of his death "in satisfaction for all our sins, so that "by that means we may be accepted be-"fore him: that he will also be pleased "to inlighten us by his Holy spirit in "the true understanding of his Word, "and to give us grace to receive him by "true fear and humility in our soules, "and that through him we may be "taught altogether to place our whole "confidence in him, to worship and ho-"nour him, and to glorifie his Holy "Name in all our life: so that, since he "has pleased to take us into the number "of his servants and sons, we may ren-"der the honour and obedience which "faithful servants owe to their Lords, "and sons to their Fathers. Now let "us pray to him *precabimurautem* as our "good Master has taught us to pray, "saying, *Our Father, &c.* This is, word for word, what *Beza* calls Mr. *Calvin*'s prayer before Sermon; which whether not more conform to the practice of bid-ding prayer in the ancient Church, but

especially to that in our Church, than any new, formed prayer of his own, let all the World judge. That which the same Authour calls *The prayer, which Mr. Calvin was used to conceive in the end of every Sermon*, begun in this constant Form. *Prosternemur autem coram Optimi Dei nostri Majestate* [*hic solitus fuit adjicere. &c.*] "Let us fall down "before the Majesty of our most gra- "cious God. [Here was he wont to in- "tersert whatsoever the subject matter "of his Sermon gave him occasion to "ask, which being different every Ser- "mon, such petitions or acknowledge- "ments cannot here be set down.] *They usually took up eight or ten small lines, and then he proceeded again in constant Form thus.* "And that he would not onely "bestow this grace upon us, but upon "all people and Nations of the Earth, "calling all the poor ignorant, out of "the blind captivity of Errours and ig- "norance, into the right way of salvati- "on, *&c.* And after several other peti- tions for all sorts and conditions of men (in constant form) making up twenty lines or more, he concluded ever thus.

Beza Ibid.

Hæc

Hæc autem omnia ab ipſo petemus, ſicut &c. "All theſe things let us ask of him, "as our ſupreme Maſter and Lord Jeſus "Chriſt has taught us to pray unto him "in theſe words, *Our Father*. It is plain, that this is alſo rather a ſummary Exhortation directing what to pray for, and moving the people to ask all theſe things in the words of our Lords prayer, than any true formal prayer, ſuch as the uſual conceived ones of our dayes: ſo that though by the forementioned interſertions, alwayes varied, and thoſe ſhort Extemporary prayers before ſpoken of, he gave the firſt inſtance of what we call *conceived prayer*, yet this was, according to the character already given, with great modeſty and ſobriety, not venturing at the rate that our people do, who would ſeem by the length of their prayers to have received *the ſpirit without meaſure*, but that generally the lamentable ſtuff they vent, ſhews they miſtake the abortions of their own fancies for divine ſuggeſtions. I do not ſay, but that there are ſome perſons who uſe this kind of prayer with good *decorum* and great grace, and poſſibly to good pri-

vate advantage: but we see how small the beginnings hereof, at least in publick were; of how late age, and with what tenderness a famous Doctour, a man of as eminent parts, industry, presence of mind, as many ages have shewn, and withal the Father and Founder of that party who cry up this way, adventured at an Ejaculation or two at a time therein, when our common people, nay some even children in a manner, dayly challenge an arbitrary & unlimited right thereto, and pretend themselves in the constant exercise hereof to be moved and enabled by the Holy Ghost.

As to *Calvin*'s part I shall onely add, that he was so far from admitting this unlimited gift of prayer, that in extraordinary cases of the calamities of the *Genevan* Church, he composed, used and prescribed particular Forms (*quibus reliqui ministri in urbe & agro uterentur*) for "the Ministers to use both in City and "Countrey., which are extant to this day.

Now that I have not impleaded this way of more novelty, than it is really chargeable with, I shall produce the confession

ſeſſion of a very pious and learned man, and him ſufficiently a friend thereto, Dr. *Preſton* by name, whom, ſince my fixing this practice where I have done, I find to acknowledge all in a manner which I have contended for, touching the primitive and conſtant uſe of Liturgies. *In the Church*, ſaith he, *at all times, both in the primitive times, and all along to the beginning of the Reformed times, to* Luther *and* Calvin's *time, ſtill in all times the Church had ſet forms they uſed, and I know no objection againſt it of weight.* Touching *Luther* I ſhall ſay more anon. As to *Calvin*, I have already made it evident, he was far from laying aſide all Forms, and out of the very Forms, which to this day they have in that very Church, which moſt follows his Rules, it is notorious, I might ſpeak much more. Onely this I note here, that the uſe of ſet Forms in the Church, is not acknowledged to have received any diſturbance, till ſince the Reformation by theſe two eminent perſons: and yet that ſuch uſe, as ſuch, could not be any Popiſh corruption (as the clamours of ſome pretend) which needed Reformation, ſeeing it is

Saints daily Exerc. Ser: 3.

owned to have been continued *all along*, and even *in the primitive times*.

To bring conceived prayer nearer home; I need not speak how apt mankind is to follow Great and New Examples, especially in points which give men advantages to display their own admired excellencies. Such was the vanity or infirmity of many of our Countreymen, that even in other novelties as well as this, Happiest was he that was likest *Calvin* (and it had been well had they not far gone beyond him). But besides this unhappy propensity, there were several occurrences, which at first drew many of our Countrey men into love with and afterwards made the way fair for, the publick introducing of this practice. It is not to be denied, but there were some few too much enclined to *Zwinglianism*, who quarrelled the Liturgie in the dayes of *Edw.* 6. The dreadful storm under Queen *Mary* drove these, amongst many better and more sober persons of our Nation into a voluntary Exile, partly in *Germany*, partly amongst the *Switzers* &c. The place which gave them most encouraging reception was *Frankford*; and

and hither therefore the greateſt number flocked. *In* the head of theſe appeared *Whittingham*, *Goodman*, *Williams*, *&c.* perſons of the character before intimated, and ill affected to our Liturgy, though contented enough to have one of their own. Here, whether by their own procuring underhand, or by the Magiſtrates impoſing on them, *I* cannot ſay, they could not have the uſe of the *French* Church, but upon promiſe to conform to the *French* in Doctrine and Ceremonies. This theſe malecontents readily accepted, ſtrangely mangled the *Engliſh* Liturgy, left nothing but a confeſſion new modelled, the Pſalms, Chapters and Creed, and, inſtead of the Hymns, had certain *Engliſh* Meeters, which being ſung, the Preacher went up into the Pulpit, and improving much the pattern given at *Geneva*, made there a more ſolemn prayer before Sermon, than that of Mr. *Calvins* (which ſeemed but needful, inaſmuch as our Litany and the whole body of the prayers were now diſcarded) and after Sermon proceeded to a formal larger prayer for the whole ſtate of the Church, eſpecially the *En-*

liſh Exiles, concluding with the Lords prayer, after the example of Mr. *Calvin*. To mend the matter, to this thus disfigured *Engliſh* Church comes *Knox* from *Geneva*, where he had ſome time taken ſanctuary, having, by a ſeditious Pamphlet againſt the Government of *Women*, made both his own Countrey *Scotland*, and the Kingdome of *England*, in each of which a *Mary* then reigned, unſafe for him. He would have ſet up amongſt theſe Exiles ſome other new Rules of his own; but finding his deſign unpracticable, he ſtruck in for the promoting the *Genevan* Order: which was carried a while, though not without great reluctancy of many, and ſome mixture of our Engliſh ſervice. Theſe things happened in the Summer 1554. In the Spring following came Dr *Cox* (formerly King *Edward*'s Tutour, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, one of the principal compilers of our Common-prayer-book, and ſo a man of great authority amongſt the Exiles) with ſeveral other Engliſh to *Frankfort*. He preſently retrieves theſe diſorders, removes *Knox*, ſettles Maſter *Whithead* as principal Paſtour amongſt them,

them, and Mr. *Horn* (afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) with other able Engliſh Divines, in other Offices, and by this means, the Litany came into the Pulpit inſtead of the Preachers Prayers, and ſoon after moſt of the Service orderly, ſo that the face of the Engliſh Reformation again appeared, though in Exile. But this laſted not long, for in Spring the Year enſuing, upon occaſion of words paſt between Mr. *Horn* (then *Whitehead's* ſucceſſour) and one Mr. *Aſhley* a popular Lay-man amongſt them, the people take the power into their own hands, weary out their old Miniſters, chooſe ſome new ones, manage all things by Officers appointed by themſelves: in a word, Independency ſeems now to have entred into the world, and the Miniſters they had, ſeemed rather to take unto themſelves the liberty to accommodate the publick Worſhip to the Humour of the people, than any regular pattern. By which advantage, arbitrary Prayers amongſt them might eaſily, and undoubtedly did grow apace, though I cannot inſtance in any particulars.

It is not to be wondred, if in the days

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of Queen *Elizabeth* these men returning, brought much of this unsettled humour with them, and inveigled others with the love of a Forreign (and therefore forsooth more admirable) Reformation, which pretended to be farther off from odious *Rome*, but in truth was onely more dissonant from the Rules of the Primitive Catholick Church, and allowed both Ministry and People more liberty to pray and say whatever pleased them, than the sober English Form. But notwithstanding, the Order settled in King *Edwards* dayes, had not so uncertain Foundations, and the interval (however dismal) betwixt his and Queen *Elizabeths* Reign was not so long, but that the Liturgy and Lawes returned soon into their current: and though the Number of abused people, who were for some other Worship (but what, they did not well know) was by the forementioned means encreased; yet totally to wave the Liturgy, and bring instead thereof prayers of private composure, or *conception* (which was yet more rare) was not so feasible. The advantage therefore laid hold on was this. All Offices of Wor-

Worſhip, before the Reformation, being performed in Latine, which the common people underſtood not, and it being not fit that whole Congregations, ſo much intereſſed in the publick Worſhip of God, ſhould be excluded from any other ſhare therein, than that of being idle ſpectators, or anſwering ſometimes a blinfold *Amen* to what they underſtood not, for remedy thereof, in the days of King *Henry* the *VIII*, when he had not yet faln out with the Pope, there had been deviſed an Engliſh Exhortation to the people, conteining the Heads of the (then) prayer for all Eſtates, which the Preacher was to uſe before or in the beginning of his Sermon, as well to let them know whom they were to pray for, as to move them thereto. The Form is of ſome length, and may be ſeen at large in the fore-cited Book of Mr. *Ham: L' Eſtrange*. The ſumme for ſome reaſons I will ſet down. "After a laudable cuſtome of "our Holy Mother the Church, ye ſhall "kneel down and pray for the Three "Eſtates, the ſouls in Purgatory, our "Holy Father the Pope, all Cardinals, "Archbiſhops and Biſhops, eſpecially

" my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,
" my Lord Biſhop of this Dioceſe, all
" the reſt of the Clergy, the peace of
" Chriſtendome, the Realm of *England*,
" the King, the Lords of the Council,
" the reſt of the Nobility, Benefactours
" to the Church, Tillers of the Earth,
" Fruits of the Land, good Weather,
" all perſons under any deadly ſin, all
" the ſick, all Pilgrims and Palmers, for
" ſhare in their prayers, for the recove-
" ry of the Holy Croſs into the hands of
" Chriſtians, for all women in our La-
" dies bonds, for the Child that it may
" receive Baptiſm, and the Mother Pu-
" rification, for the good man and wo-
" man that this day giveth bread to
" make the Holy loaf, for them who
" firſt began and longeſt continue it,
" for thoſe and all true Chriſtian peo-
" ple, every man and woman, ſay a *Pa-*
" *ter noſter and an Ave, &c.* This had been by King *Henry* the VIII. afterwards corrected, the Pope and Cardinals expunged, himſelf ſtiled ſupream Head of the Church, *&c.* & after that very much reduced by K. *Edwards* injunctions. Some ſmall Alteration it received again in Queen

Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, being reinjoined, and was become now ſo innocent and conform to Saint *Pauls* injunction (1 *Tim.* II. 1, 2.) that thoſe who liked not the Liturgy, did both like and uſe this before Sermon. The Chieftain of the Diſſenters in thoſe dayes was the famous Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, who though he dreaded the Desk, yet ſtole oft into the Pulpit, firſt in ſome obſcure Villages near *Cambridge*; afterwards he ſet up and read a Divinity Lecture (in the language of later dayes, preached the Lecture) at *Coventry*. Moſt of his hearers having no more kindneſs for the prayers of the Church than himſelf, would not uſually come into the Church before his Sermon began; and by this meanes being guilty of ſo great an irregularity, as both preacher to handle, and people to hear the Word, without any other ſolemn prayer, but that brief though moſt comprehenſive one of our Lords, he was deſired by ſome of the Principals of his Followers, for their ſakes who could not join in the Common-prayer, to frame a prayer of his own before his Sermon: which he did, turning

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ing the Exhortatory Form of bidding of prayer, with ſome addition of other Heads into a Form of prayer, which (I mean a Form of prayer of his own compoſure) he uſed both privately and publickly to his dying day. And I remember my ſelf, ſoon after my firſt coming to the Univerſity, to have been informed by a very ancient Miniſter of that perſwaſion, that Mr. *T. C.* however a man of great Learning & parts, and an excellent Preacher, to his knowledg never did nor could *pray by gift*. We have thus ſeen in this great man, the firſt inſtance of a Prayer before Sermon (of the Preachers private compoſure) in *England*, though I believe none but that age, with which the World determines, will ſee the laſt. For this practice of Mr. *Cartwrights* no ſooner appeared in the Nation, but it flew like *lightning*, *from Eaſt to Weſt*, and he was imitated herein by Miniſters of all ſorts, as much as *Calvin*; & though the Queen by her injunctions and Viſitours, and by an expreſs Proclamation (as I have heard) forbad it, (for after ſo comprehenſive prayers as thoſe of our Liturgy, if men would be ſerious therein,

therein, & were of ſober mind, there can be no great need of ſuch practice, not to ſpeak of the miſchiefes conſequent) yet could no conſiderable check be given hereto. And what *T. C.* either never could, or never did, that preſently many did to admiration, pray in the preſent conceived way, & many more affected it: inſomuch that it preſently became a Doctrine, publickly & generally preached up by ſuch, who pretended the greateſt purity of Reformation, that *Forms of prayer were not ſufficient*; That *they were onely helps that one might uſe that is exceeding weak, as a child that cannot goe may uſe a prop to help it; but we muſt not alwayes be children, we muſt not alwayes uſe this help*; That *there is no man that has any work of Grace in his heart, but is inabled in ſome meaſure to pray without a ſet Form, he is able to expreſs his deſires to God one way or other*: And though the more ſober part underſtood all theſe doctrines onely of *private* prayer, as is evident by the Authour now cited (*Forms are an help for the private, for the publick it is another caſe*, are his expreſs words) yet theſe being the Sermons

Dr. Preſton St. Daily Exerciſe p. 82, 83.

which were moſt reſorted to, and books, containing ſuch doctrines as theſe, being moſt read by ſuch, who pretended the greateſt zeal for Religion, and ſuch perſons withall practiſing according to theſe doctrines or precepts, it ſoon came to paſs, that even the common people in private firſt, and then in their Families, adventured at, & as they thought much profited in and by conceived prayer. And though I ſay thoſe ſober men who firſt taught this practice, intended it onely for private, yet this being thought the beſt and moſt edifying courſe of prayer in one caſe, was adjudged ſuch abſolutely and in all caſes, no other prayers much heeded by the Zealous; ſo that he being no body within a while, who did not before, and perhaps too after his Sermon, uſe a conceived prayer, many good men who knew both the novelty and the irregularity of the practice, were drawn into it in their own defence, as being likely otherwiſe to be deſerted and ſlighted in the diſcharge of their Function. The ſpirits of a multitude being thus prepared for this new ſort of Worſhip, ſome Grandees, who affected chan-

changes, and upon that and other accounts (possibly of revenge and particular grudge) had a mind to disturb affairs, full well knowing that there is no more effectual expedient to draw well-meaning people, and especially those who are zealous in Religion (which were the fittest for their turn, because the fiercest) to any cause, than pretence of religion, conscience, and greater purity, made the settled Order of Worship, one particular of their grievances, cryed out for a Reformation of it, and animated all persons to write and practise against it. Designes being ripe, out broke our unhappy wars, which gave men liberty to pray or not to pray, and to do each as seemed good in his own eyes. And in process, it pleasing God in punishment of the National sins, that victory inclined to the worse cause, out comes *an Ordinance of Parliament*, Jan. 23. 1644, For *the taking away of the Book of Common prayer, and for the establishing and putting in execution of the* Directory *for the publick worship of God* This *Directory* administred matter or *Furniture* (to use their own term) for

prayer, to thoſe would pleaſe to take it, but left each Miniſter to his own diſcretion, choice, method, expreſſions and gifts; declaring and averring, that *Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt pleaſeth to furniſh with the* gift of prayer, *all his ſervants whom he calls to the Office of the Miniſtry.* A bold aſſertion, and in which the Authours of it did not conſider, that they were obliged, upon this their principle, to confeſs that their Patriarch *T. C.* and many others, whom they cryed up for precious Miniſters of Chriſt Jeſus, were not called to the Miniſtry. But notwithſtanding this orderly proviſion of materials, ſome not being able to manage them, and moſt thinking themſelves above even thus much of a Form, very extravagant, immethodical, or elſe very lame and imperfect were moſt of the publick prayers: inſomuch that ſome of the more ſober men, of thoſe very dayes, were really aſhamed thereof; and amongſt others, a learned and ingenuous perſon, drew together rules, framed a ſyſteme of precepts, which although in complaiſance to the language of the age, and to render ſomewhat of ſo-

Pref: to the Directory.

ſobriety more palatable to a fantaſtical world, he intituled, the *Gift of prayer* yet in that he teacheth therein this kind of prayer, as we uſe to do the more Liberal Arts and Sciences, in that he applies to this office the principles of Rhetorick, delivering heads for *invention*, and helps for language or *elocution*, this is in effect a fair confeſſion, that what he called the Gift of prayer, was in his ſenſe no better or no other, than what we have above reſolved.

Hitherto the riſe and progreſſe of conceived prayer has been inſiſted on, in the notion wherein it was *oppoſed* to the *Liturgy*, as an Ordinance or office of the publick worſhip, and as the Exerciſe of it was made a part of the *Miniſterial* function. As to the *private* practice of ſome what of this nature betwixt God and a mans own ſoul, in an *ejaculatory* or *occaſional* way, I do not believe ſome ſuch thing to have been ever out of uſe amongſt the faithfull, in any age of the Church, before or under the law, or ſince the Goſpell. To breath out a petition, or ſo, under any preſſing want, or upon any compaſſionable occaſion is na-

naturall: and had this been it, which ſome men meant in ſaying, that *all men who have any work of grace upon their hearts are inabled to pray without a ſet form, and can expreſſe their wants one way or other*, no man of ſenſe would ever deny it, but rather adde thereto, I will ſay, whether a man have a work of grace upon his heart, or whether he have not, let him ly under any calamity or want, or otherwiſe be conſiderably affected, and by the common faculties, which are naturall to all men, that have the uſe of reaſon and ſpeech, he is able to expreſſe his wants or deſires, one way or other, to God. The very heathen mariners in *Jonah*, when they were likely to be caſt away, prayed to God to ſave themſelves and *Jonah* too. They were in their petitions very compaſſionate to him, and diſcreet as to themſelves: yet I neither believe them to have been in that inſtant inſpired with any gift of prayer, nor before that to have had any work of grace upon their hearts. Grace at the utmoſt, according as appeares by the ſtory, was but then, if then, makeing its firſt attempt upon them:

them: nor can any man deny, but that common naturall abilities, admitting onely an ordinary concourſe of God ſupporting us in the exerciſe of them, ſuffice for makeing ſuch occaſionall addreſſes. I do not ſay, but that in ſome ſuch occaſionall ſuits there may be, and often is, more than nature. In thoſe ſecret elapſes, which the ſouls of the faithfull make daily and hourely to God, upon all varieties of occaſions, there is undoubtedly much of the preventions and aſſiſtances of grace. The warmth of heart and good affection, nay it may be the very thought and intention of praying at that inſtant, and on that occaſion, proceed from the ſpirit of God. But here the caſe is widely different: no ſuch urging or paſſionate circumſtances are ſuppoſed. Inſuch caſes, I ſay, there is the ſame naturall ability and (haply) promptiude to pray for help, as there is to *perceive*, *deſire* and *ſpeak*. And this being aſſerted by us there can be no controverſy, remaining as to this point, were this the meaning of the gift of prayer: for what many times a man is able to do by ſtrength of

naturall faculties, he is certainly much more able to perform by them advanced by grace.

But this is not the ſenſe of conceived prayer, even in that notion, wherein it has been aſſerted to be the *right* of every *private* Chriſtian. It is notorious, that even by ſuch a *private Gift of prayer*, they mean a being able to make a ſolemn, formall, continued ſpeech to God, repreſenting a mans whole ſtate, for the main, as to his ſpirituall and temporall concernments, and alſo interceding for others as occaſion ſhall require; for the expreſſing of all which, they ſuppoſe the infuſed promptitude to ſupply the faithfull, with freeer and better terms, more naturall to their purpoſe, and more agreeable to the ſentiments of their own hearts, than any they can otherwiſe be furniſhed with. Now this pretence I ſay is new: or if any, who are fond of the practice, will contend for the antiquity of it, I believe they will not eſteem it any great credit to their cauſe, to have the eldeſt authors and practitioners of it produced. And I beſeech them not to be offended, if being engaged

gaged to ſpeak the utmoſt of my knowledge on this ſubject, I am enforced, by the proceſs of my diſcourſe, to publiſh the eldeſt tracks, that I can find, which may ground any plea for its tolerable antiquity; ſtill preſcinding from the inſpired dayes.

Amongſt the more *exalted proficients* in the *Religious Orders* of the *Romiſh* Church, I meet with a kind of prayer called *Mental* prayer, much magnified amongſt them, and not without reaſon, if they practice it, as their more ſober Authours teach and direct. But their newer *Myſtical* Divines have made it a wild & unintelligible *Rodomontade*. The *name* indeed I do not find to be elder, than ſome of their later School Doctors, *Bonavent: Waldenſ: Gabr. &c.* And poſſibly they have accommodated this name, to more than in its natural import it will bear. It is uſed with them to ſignifie in a manner all private devotion, as namely Reading, Meditation, Prayer, and Conremplation (by which laſt, they underſtand an act of the underſtanding, imployed on God and ſpiritual things, raviſhing the will with heavenly joy and

Suarez. de virtut. Rel. Tom: 2. l: 2. c: 2, 3. &c.

delight) and all these conjoin'd. This doctrine they pretend to take out of a piece imputed to St. *Bernard*, and extant in his Works, which is intituled *De scala Claustralium*, or, *De modo orandi*. But it is plain to any one, who peruses that piece, that St. *Bernard*, or whoever was the Authour of it, as he has not the term *Mental prayer*, so rather designed to shew what exercise of Devotion becomes a cloisterd Religious person (*spiritualis hominis exercitium* he calls it, and compares it to a ladder, of which he names the foresaid four acts as the four steps) than to midwife into the world any new sort of prayer. That kind of prayer, which St. *Bernard* makes his third step, and which, if any thing that he speaks of, is to be called *mental* prayer, is nothing but occasional addresses, or soliloquies, of the devout soul to God, suitable to the matter meditated upon, mixed with the Meditations in an ejaculatory way: *Orationes raptim quodammodo jaculatas* is St. *Austins* language in the same case. The name therefore being too strait for so large an exercise, some later Authours have been content to reduce

Bernard. Tom: 2.

duce *mental* prayer to two parts, *Meditation*, and *Prayer* properly ſo called, that is Petition: for which alſo, to gain ſome colour of antiquity to ſo magnified a thing, they produce a paſſage out of the ſame St. *Bernard*, where he calls *Meditation* and *Prayer* the two feet by which we aſcend to Heaven, and explains their effects thus. *Meditatio docet quid deſiti oratio, ne deſit, obtinet.* "The deſign of Meditation is "to find out what is wanting, of pray-"er to obtain it may not be wanting. But neither there has the Father any one word, as if theſe two diſtinct acts of devotion were to be reduced into one exerciſe or office, to make up a new kind of prayer. However the aforeſaid Maſters have done it, and ſo publiſh it to the world, extolling it above all other kind of prayer infinitely, and teaching of it (what ſome of our men do of *Conceived prayer*) that it is far more effectual than any other kind of prayer whatſoever, that it is *Angelical* rather than humane, the fountain and ſeminary of all virtue, the greateſt participation of Heaven and I know not what not.

Roſ. gnol. de. diſcipl. Chriſt. Pert. l. 4. c. 45

Serm. de Sto. Andr. in fin.

Now in this later confined ſenſe, as *Mental prayer* is ſuppoſed to be a kind of prayer oppoſite to Set Forms, and made up of *Meditation* and *Petition*, it would ſeem very neerly to agree with their practice, who exerciſe conceived prayer in private, not without previous thought and conſideration. And though the name, *Mental prayer*, ſeem to import it to be onely an exerciſe of the mind (within which kind their loftier authours pretend chiefly to confine its practice) and not of the voice, yet there are not wanting ſome amongſt them, and thoſe too Seraphical enough, who engage alſo the voice ſomtimes herein. I ſhall repreſent all as plain as I can, for I muſt acknowledge the beſt talk a little enthuſiaſtically. They ſuppoſe three ſorts or degrees of *Contemplation*. The firſt conſiſts in the *knowledge of God, gotten by reaſon, diſcourſe, and ſtudy:* this eſpecially belongs to *learned men* and Scholars. The ſecond lyeth *principally in affection, without ſpiritual light in the underſtanding, or ſight of ſpiritual things*, and this is of plain *unlearned perſons, who give themſelves wholely to devotion*. By this they mean nothing, but

Walt. Hilton. Scale of Perfection. Part: 1. Ch: 4, 5 &c.

ſome

ſome heat, or tranſport of affection, begotten by attent and continued thought on ſome ſacred ſubject, which is apt to move the mind. The third comprehends both the former, and conſiſts both in clearer *knowledge* and more elevate *affection*, which they therefore account *the moſt perfect contemplation that can be had in this life.* Now to the ſecond ſort of *contemplation* doth belong, ſay they, a kind of *peculiar vocal* prayer, which, if I miſtake them not, is very neer a kin to *Extemporary* prayer. It is by none that I have ſeen more plainly deſcribed, than by *Walter Hilton a Carthuſian*, who was Famous in the Reign of King *Henry* the *VI*, about the Year 1433, in a Book which he wrote for the uſe of *Margaret* Mother to *Henry* the VII, when ſhe was now entred into a Religious life. "There "is, ſaith he, another ſort of *Vocal* pray- "er, which is not by any ſet Form of "prayers but is, when a man or woman, "by the gift of God, feeling the grace "of Devotion, ſpeaketh to God as it "were bodily in his preſence, with ſuch "words as ſuit moſt to his inward ſtir- "rings for the time, or as cometh to his Scal. Perfect. Part. 2. ch: 1. Sect. 1.

" mind, answerable to the Feelings or
" motions of his heart, either by way of
" rehearsal of his sins and wretchedness,
" or of the malice and sleights of his E-
" nemy, or of the mercy and goodness
" of God. And hereby he cryeth with
" desire of heart, and speech of mouth,
" to our Lord for succour, as a man that
" were in peril amongst his enemies; or
" in sickness, shewing his sores to God
" as to a Physician, saying with *David*,
" *Deliver me from mine enemies, O Lord:*
" or else thus, *Heal my soul, for I have*
" *sinned against thee*; or other such like
" words as they come to his mind.
Thus this Holy and great man, especially considering those dayes. Now this practice looks much like conceived prayer: onely there must be acknowledged these differences. 1. That this kind presupposes much meditation, and rais'd affections; whereas in conceived prayer men set themselves commonly to it, with little or no thought precedent, and use it as a mean to raise affection. 2. This is not supposed to exclude other ordinary prayers by Form, (as their *Mattins, Evensong, Hours, &c.* as in their *Breviaries*,

ries) to which all Religious perſons amongſt them are by cuſtome, and their rule, bound: Whereas, amongſt the people we ſpeak of, conceived prayer is judged the onely ſort of prayer to be uſed by ſuch, who have attained the Faculty thereof: 3. The more liberal exerciſe hereof is lookt upon as more rare, even in thoſe very perſons who have arrived at it, a more than ordinary gift and favour conferred upon them by God, of ſhort duration, and of no conſtant or frequent returns; as being *wondrous painful to the ſpirit, and waſting to the body, who uſeth it.* For, ſay they, *it maketh the body for to ſtir and move here and there, as if the man were mad, or drunk, and could have no reſt.* In a word, this character of prayer very neerly agrees with ſuch prayers, as I have heard ſome Quakers pretend to, who owe more of their Religion to men full well verſt in theſe Books and practices, than the world thinks of. But our conceived prayer is ordinary, at arbitrary ſeaſons, & much more tame and dull. Ours ſeems rather to be ſomwhat of their *Mental prayer*, (or that Meditation, which

Idem Ibid

is

is ſuppoſed to have preceded this kind of Vocal prayer) *worded*, but broken off, before it hath raiſed either mind or body to ſuch paſſions, as they talk of.

Upon the whole, I really judge, that, excluding from the notion of our preſent private conceived prayer, ſuch brief occaſional ejaculatory prayer, as I before allowed ever to have been in uſe, and which no ſerious man will dare in general to reprehend, there is nothing ſince the inſpired times, which looks like the private practice of our conceived prayer, elder than this practice, which I have thus given account of, amongſt ſome of their more exalted Votaries, and which it is plain was not their uſual daily prayer, at fixed times, or on common occaſions, but ſome more extraordinary eruption and rapture of devotion. At leaſt I ſincerely profeſs, if there be any ſuch thing, it has eſcaped my notice, notwithſtanding that I have diligently examined what I could meet with writ on this ſubject, and have been otherwiſe inquiſitive enough. It is plain, the Fathers, both in publick and in private uſed Forms, (though, I ſay it again, we pre-

pretend not to tye any man in private to Forms onely) and when, in private, they would pay more ſolemn devotions on particular reaſons and occaſions, they penned to themſelves new Forms proportionably. Witneſs the private prayers extant of St. *Baſil*, of *Ephrem Syrus* on ſeveral occaſions, of St. *Ambroſe* preparatory to the Communion, together with the great variety of St. *Auguſtine*'s devotions; and of diverſe others. In ſucceeding Ages there could be no queſtion, but the like uſe was more conſtant and uniform. I do find indeed *Luther* to have uſed conceived prayer, frequently, but not ſolely, in private, and with marveilous affection: of his publick uſe thereof I have not been able to find out one inſtance; and I have reaſon to conclude there was none. For I have obſerved his moſt private Sermons (his *Poſtillæ Domeſticæ*) as well as his publick ones, at the utmoſt to have begun, onely, with a very brief Exhortation to the people to attend, and that concluding without ſo much as the Lords prayer, [*Ut Deo debitum cultum præſtemus, Verbum Dei, juxta ipſius mandatum dili-*

Luth. Post. Dom. Ep. 2. Adven:

Domi. fuæ. 1532. & Dominic. 3. &c.

genter audiamus, &c.] "For the paying "to God due Worſhip, let us diligent- "ly attend to the Word of God, accor- "ding to his commandment; and ſo he proceeds with very little other preface commonly to his Text. Sometimes he begins even without any ſuch Exhorta- tion at all: and yet they who publiſh theſe his Sermons, at the command of the Duke of *Saxony*, pretend to have taken them, in the *German* Tongue, word for word from him: and tis plain they were very exact, otherwiſe ſuch ſmall prefaces as theſe would have been omitted. Then for any concluſory pray- er to, or after his Sermon, he commonly ends with ſuch an ejaculatory petition, as we do, *Quod tribuat nobis*, or *Faxit Deus*, &c. "Which God of his mer- "cy grant us, or God grant this to us, according as the dependance ſuggeſts, and no more. But what is a greater ar- gument, in ſtead of exerciſing any ſuch pretended gift of his own in publick prayers, he kept cloſe to the prayers of the Church, onely tranſlating and pur- ging them. His firſt attempt was on the XX. Sunday after Trinity, in the Year

1525

1525, as he himſelf witneſſeth. *Nunc iam Principis mandato, craſtina Dominica publico experimento tentabitur in nomine Chriſti. Erit autem miſſa vernacula pro Laicis*, &c. "Now, ſaith he, in the "Name of Chriſt, at the command of "the Prince we will make a publick "tryal of the next Lords dayes Service. "There will be the Communion-ſervice "in their Mother-tongue for the peo-"ple. And there will be every dayes "Service in Latine, with Leſſons added "in their Mother-tongue, as you ſhall "ſhortly ſee in the publick Copies, which he was then preparing. And ſome-thing of ſuch a Form, purged by him, is extant in his ſecond Tome, pag. 556, for the uſe of the Church of *Wittenberg*, where he taught: in which Office we find the Sermon to come in, in the ſame or-der as in our Liturgy, and we cannot reaſonably imagine any other than the publick ſtated prayers to have preceded it. *Idem de Vernacula concione ſentimus, ut nihil referat ſive hic poſt Symbolum, ſive ante introitum Miſſæ fiat*, &c. "The "ſame do we judge (ſaith he) of a Ser-"mon in the Mother-tongue [namely, that

Epiſt. ad. J. Lang. & miniſtr: Erphor.

Form: miſſ. & Commun. pro. Eccl. Witten-berg:

that that ſhould be uſed, as well as the *Nicene* Creed, in the Communion Service] "yet ſo, that it mattereth not, "whether it be made here after the *Ni-* "*cene* Creed, or immediately before the "*Introit* of the Communion, though "there is another reaſon why it ſhould "not be made after the *Introit*. Theſe I preſume ſufficient evidences, that *Luther* never pretended to, or exerciſed in publick any Gift of prayer. Nor in private, when any were preſent with him, can I find any ſuch uſe of his. Amidſt thoſe prodigious temptations which he endured, dreadful apparitions of flaming Torches thrown at him, which even exanimated him for a while, when he came to himſelf, I find him onely at his *Venite, in contemptum Diaboli, Pſalmum* de Profundis *quatuor vocibus cantemus*: "Come, ſaith he, to thoſe who were with him, "in defiance of the Devil, let "us ſing the Pſalm *out of the Depths* "with four voices. This is not ſeeking God by the ſtrength of imaginary gifts. In ſecret indeed, he uſed much and moſt fervent ſoliloquy with God, which we may call arbitrary, conceived, or extem-

Melch. Adam. in vit. Luth

porary prayer, as we pleaſe. This account is given of him by *Vitus Theodorus* his companion, during his abſconding and ſolitude in the Foreſt by *Coburg*, *Nullus abit dies*, &c. "There paſſes, "ſaith he of *Luther*, no day, but he "ſpends at leaſt three hours in prayer, "and thoſe the fitteſt for ſtudies. Once "I happened to overhear him at prayer. "Good God! what ſpirit, what faith "was there in his words! He asks eve-"ry thing with ſuch reverence, as be-"ing ſenſible he ſpeaks to God, with "ſuch faith and confidence, as ſpeaking "to a Father or Friend. *I know*, ſaid he, "*that thou art our Father and God: I* "*am ſure thou wilt deſtroy all the perſecu-*"*tors of thy children. But if thou wilt* "*not do it, thy danger is conjoind with* "*ours: it is all thy buſineſs: we engaged* "*therein compelled by thee. Thou there-*"*fore ſhalt defend us.* In theſe words, "very neerly, did I hear him praying "with a plain voice, I ſtanding at a "good diſtance: and my ſoul burned "within me with ſingular affection, to "hear him ſpeak ſo familiarly, ſo grave-"ly, ſo reverently with God, and in

" his prayers plead to God promiſes out " of the Pſalms, as being ſure all he ask- " ed ſhould come to paſs. Now if we conſider what has been above ſpoken touching *Mental* prayer amongſt the *Romiſh* Religious, and remember that this great ſpirited ſervant of God came out of a *Cloiſter* of the *Auguſtinian* Order, in which life he had with great zeal and ſerioufneſs exerciſed himſelf, in all kind of their devotions, towards God, we ſhall ſoon conclude upon what inſtitutions, methods and practices he arrived at this promptitude and power in this kind of praying. For the inſtance given is plainly *Meditation worded*, the ſoliloquie of a ſtrong faith, and ardent devotion, with God, in ſuch language as great affections broke out into. And this his long retired life, and converſe in deep thought with God, together with his ſtudy, and being exerciſed in Scripture and much preaching, had habituated him for. Of his ſecret method and courſe of praying, and what he judged beſt in ſuch caſe, if any liſt to ſee more, they may view his *Simple. Grand. Mod.* where himſelf relates his own

own practices? And his *Enchirid. Piar. Precation.* where he cenſures other practices; both extant in his ſeventh Tome: which ſtill ſpeak more in favour of the *mental*, little, or nothing of the preſent *conceived* way.

And nowhaving given this particular account of *Luthers* practice, I cannot believe that in the firſt and eldeſt *Lutheran* Churches, there ever appeared any ſuch thing as Conceived prayer in publick. What their firſt publick Service was, we have ſeen: That they now have publick Forms of prayer, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, all muſt acknowledge. That there ſhould be amongſt them, as in all Churches, ſome turbulent and fantaſtical men, no man can doubt, or think otherwiſe. That ſuch men may practice at preſent conceived prayer amongſt them, I will not deny: but this ſtill muſt be acknowledged to have come in ſince *Luthers* time conſiderably, and ſo contradicts not what I have above aſſerted. And I am ſure the doctrine of the modern *Lutherans* is temperate enough in this point. The utmoſt they ſay in the Controverſie is, *No man can deny* Sect 5.

Brochmand: Syſtem. Theo. de invo. cat. del. c. 1.

deny the expediency of set Forms, but he must contradict Scripture. Nec tamen negamus, ex usu esse, ut qui in re sacrâ uberioris sunt profectûs, ad certas precandi formas se semper non alligent: *Tet we do not deny, but that it is profitable, that they, who are riper Proficients in devotion, do not alwayes tye themselves to constant Forms of Prayer.* Thus taught a Divinity Professour of theirs, of great note in the Year 1650, or since; and *I* scarce know any man worthy to be heeded, who will not say with him herein. But enough be thus said touching the *Original progress* and *use* of *Conceived prayer*, under *any notion* whatsoever.

Sect 3. Having now spoken what I judge satisfactory, I am sure what is so to my selfe, touching all the propounded heads of enquiry, I know no conclusion which I can put to this discourse, that may render it more beneficiall, than if reflecting upon the present temper and *Genius* of our People, I consider (with all humble submission) whether somewhat be not to be indulg'd thereto, by some qualified use of conceived prayer, or arbitrary (but alwayes sober) forms,

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in ſuch caſes where the law, either by ambiguity, or favourableneſs of expreſſion, ſeems to give ſome appearance of liberty left to the Miniſters diſcretion: & this, as well for the winning at preſent ſome perſons to our Communion, as for the reteining others in it. We do find, in moſt caſes generally, that prudent compliance gains more on many adverſaries, than ſtiffneſſe, and rigorous inſiſting on what is in ſtrictneſs righteſt and beſt. The Ἀνεπιβούλευτος he that is *righteous overmuch*, is neither in the Holy Ghoſts, nor in the Philoſophers judgment the beſt man in point of morals. And whether in good Politicks there be not to be admitted a *Prudential* Ἐπιείκεια or moderateneſs, which, being extended to Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil ſanctions, ſhall a little rebate the ſtrictneſs of the injunction, τὸ ἀκριβὲς δίκαιον, where by reaſon of the univerſality of the terms, and caſes that could not haply be foreſeen by the law-giver when the law was made, it ſeems to require or forbid more than is for the publick good (the great end of laws) whether I ſay ſuch a temper

Eccles. VII. 16. Ariſtot. Ethic.

deny the expediency of set Forms, but he must contradict Scripture. Nec tamen negamus, ex usu esse, ut qui in re sacrâ uberioris sunt profectûs, ad certas precandi formas se semper non alligent: *Yet we do not deny, but that it is profitable, that they, who are riper Proficients in devotion, do not always tye themselves to constant Forms of Prayer.* Thus taught a Divinity Professour of theirs, of great note in the Year 1650, or since; and I scarce know any man worthy to be heeded, who will not say with him herein. But enough be thus said touching the *Original progress* and *use* of *Conceived prayer*, under *any notion* whatsoever.

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Eccles: VII. 16. Ariſtot. Ethic.

is not commendable, deſerves much the conſideration of wiſer men than my ſelf; to whom therefore I leave it, not takeing upon me to determin, in the general. Onely I humbly judge, that if we of the ſubordinate Clergy, with all deference and humble obedience to our ſuperiours, do, by the uſe of that poor meaſure of Chriſtian prudence, where-with God has endowed us, in the fear of God and with conſcience to our ſeveral obligations, mete out to our ſelves (*pro hic & nunc*) what we judg moſt expedient, provided our practice ſtill conſiſt with a favourable ſenſe or interpretation of the law, we are not to be blamed; at leaſt, for our good intention, and no refractary procedure, we may find, before all ſober men, an eaſy pardon.

We do not want great *Precedents* in caſes of like nature, and there are alſo *Precepts*, or counſels, that look this way. St. *Pauls* Judaizing, to have taken off, if it might be, the prejudice which the believeing *Jewes* had againſt him & his doctrine, is a prægnant inſtance of like practice, or an higher. *Acts* XXI. 23, 24,

24, &c. To pretend that he had the *vow* of a *Nazarite* (at leaſt temporary) upon him, as he did in effect when he put himſelf into the company and ſtate of *four* men that had, to *be at charges* to provide for thoſe men and himſelfe the legal rites and ſacrifice, to *ſhave his head* and in the Holy fire devote the hair, to await the *ſeven daies* for the *accompliſhment of his purification* & then to *come into the temple* ſolemnly to teſtify the accompliſhment thereof conſenting that the accuſtomed *offerings* ſhould *be made* for himſelf alſo amongſt the company (all which by the purport of the text it is plain he did according to the law in that caſe, and all this too, after that very law and all ſacrificeing was abrogated by that moſt perfect and ever bleſſed ſacrifice of our Lords own body on the croſs, as had been determined by the very Hieroſolymitan Council, was a compliance a very ſtrange height: and yet as we ſee juſtifiable, both from the practice of that great Apoſtle, and from the advice *of St. James*, and the Elders of the Hieroſolymitan Church-*ver:* 18, 20 *&c.* Let us but view this a *Acts* XV.

little more attentively: Put in the ſcales, on one hand, ingenuous dealing, the owning a mans ſelf fairly, what according to conſcience and duty he is, and the aſſerting that *Liberty with which Jeſus Chriſt has made us free*, haveing purchaſed it at no meaner a rate, than that of his own bloud; and on the other hand, the makeing a pretence, difficultly reconcileable with truth, and in purſuance thereof conſenting to, and ſeemingly joyning in acts of worſhip, as difficultly juſtifiable under a Goſpel ſtate, if we now conſider both practices according to due merit and right, who will not ſay the former is in its ſelf much ſurer, better and every way more laudable? Yet it was not ſo adjudged in thoſe circumſtances, or that juncture of affaires. Nor is this great Apoſtles practiceing thus a thing once ſaid, but reaſſerted and mainteined by himſelfe. *Though I be* ſaith *be free from all men, yet have I made my ſelf ſervant unto all, that I might gain the more. Unto the Jewes I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jewes: To them that are under the law as under the law that I might gain them that are under the law*

1. Cor: IX. 19 20 &c.

law: To them that are without law, as whithout law, that I might gain them that are without law; to the weak became I as weak; that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means ſave ſome. A fuller precedent to our purpoſe we cannot wiſh: & one of greater authority except in the caſe of our Saviour (which alſo we ſhall have inſtantly) we cannot have. Again, how fair are thoſe Apoſtolical injunctions in like caſe. *We then that are ſtrong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to pleaſe our ſelves. Let every one of us pleaſe his neighbour, for his good, to edification. For even Chriſt* (Behold here our *Lords* example) *pleaſed not himſelf.* &c. To which paſſage it were eaſy to alledge many parallels. *And the authority of thoſe copies is very great,* ſaith the Learned and judicious Dr. *Hammond*, which read Κυρῷ δουλεύοντες *ſerving the time* (Rom: XII. 11.) beſides that the deſigne of the context, and the parallel paſſage in St. *Ignatius* his Epiſtle to *St. Polycarp*, and the eaſineſs of the variation, make it much the more probable reading. There may certainly be ſuch a

Rom: XV. 1, 2, 3.

In annot. ad Cor.

thing, as a commendable *time-ſerving*; when conſidering the time, place, and poſture of things, in the proſecution of a great good, we at once follow the rules of *prudence* and *good conſcience*, ſweetly *reconciled* and conſpiring in the uſe of the ſame means. I confeſs it is much eaſier to diſcourſe plauſibly on this ſubject, than to practice unblameably: yet certainly ſuch an accommodative temper is innocently practicable. However, we commonly teach, and moſt truly, that the Conſtitutions and Laws of the Church are alterable, or may be diſpenſed with: and whether thoſe particular Lawes, which in ſtrictneſs injoin miniſters to uſe no other prayers in publick, but what are preſcribed in the Liturgy, are not, as things ſtand at preſent, fit to be a little relaxed, or poſſibly are ſome way temperated already, is worthy of great conſideration. It may truly be ſaid in this caſe, as in that of the Judaizing Chriſtians at *Jeruſalem*, *We ſee there are many thouſands that believe*, that are ſerious good men, and devoutly uſe our Church Liturgy, who yet *are all zealous of* a prayer before Ser-

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mon, and that too varied and accommodated to particular occurrences, and little new emergent cases.

Sect. 4. The body of our Church (*I* mean of the conformable people of these Nations) seems to be made up of three sorts of persons. The first, (which are far the fewest) are the honest old *English* Protestants, people soberly brought up in the bosome of the Church, truly serious and judicious in matters of Religion, who, though they have had the happiness never to be quite out of the Church, yet are not therefore merely of it, because they were born in it, but out of choice and conscience *hold fast* their Mothers *sound Faith*. These people well know how to address themselves to God in private, and in publick they would be fully content with the strict observation of the Churches rule, without the addition of other, or daily new prayers. There are a second sort (much more numerous) whose harder lott it was, to be bred up in factious daies, and haply amongst factious men, who haveing never known what the Church of *England* was, till they saw it restored, soon

ſoon grew ſenſible of the whimſies and Fantaſtiall waies in which they had been kept, and whatever ſhare they had unhappily had thereof, ſeriouſly repented, and, with a ſweet mixture of penitent ſorrow and joy, betook themſelves into the arms of their mother, bleſſing God that they had lived to ſee, whence in truth they were deſcended. Many of theſe haveing taſted much devout affection under the *conceived way*, although they really like, and right piouſly uſe, our Liturgy yet cannot but have a mindful kindneſs for the ſober uſe of that other kind of prayer, which hath often affected them; and therefore would not willingly have all exerciſe thereof precluded or forborn. There are a third ſort, much the worſt, but vaſtly the moſt, who are of our Church, becauſe it's that which is at preſent uppermoſt in theſe Kingdomes, and would be of any that ſhould be ſo. And of theſe there are two ſorts: The firſt are men of *Gallio's* temper, *not careing for theſe thinges*, not at all concern'd as touching matters of Religion. They eſteem it fitting perhaps that ſome Religion there

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our eſtabliſht Religon, in thoſe very poines, which gratify not all mens humours, education or cuſtome, is yet ſo innocent that though it do not every way pleaſe ſome mens fancies, yet it can hardly thwart any underſtanding mans conſcience: and therefore acquitting theſe men from acting againſt conſcience, and onely judging them to ſuppreſs ſome opinion or inclination of more unreaſonable affection, I am enforced to conclude there many be ſincerity amongſt them. Now certain it is, the farr greateſt number of theſe have a great Zeal for conceived prayer, and would not ſo much comply as they do, ſhould all uſe thereof be taken away. In ſumme, of theſe three ſorts of our people, which I have thus given account of, the firſt it is plain is not indeed by any forbearence of conceived prayer to be loſt; but of the ſecond it may be feared, many would be: and of the third ſort, a multitude who are perfect *Neuters* in religion would clamour againſt us upon ſuch forbearance: and as to the *Nicodemians*, as I may call them, inſtead of winning many of them perfectly to us (which may be hoped) we

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ſhould by ſuch meanes make all of them more adverſe, and ready to take parties againſt us, when ever opportunity ſhould offer.

I ought not to omit, that of thoſe who hold off from our communion, there are many who come in frequently into our congregations, when the ſervice is over, and both diligently heare and well like our ſermons: now theſe people are told by thoſe, who have prejudiced them againſt, or ſeduced them from our Church, that one reaſon of our Miniſters uſeing the Commonprayer is becauſe they are carnal men, not haveing true grace, and ſo deſtitute of the ſpirit of prayer, and of thoſe gifts, which themſelves and their brethren have: and that becauſe we want them our ſelves, we would ſuppreſs them in others. Now to convince theſe people of the abominable deluſion and cheat, which is put upon them, there can be no more effectual expedient, than the modeſt exerciſe of our abilites in this way; whereby it will be evident, that if in conceived prayer men are to ſpeake ſenſe, and what becomes the majeſty of God, and this rea-

dily, without hesitancy, drawling, losses, and insignificant canting expletives, the generality of the conformable Clergy can outdo these very leaders in their own magnified way. And it cannot be denied, but that many of their people have been so honest, that when they have discovered such cheats and slanderous pretences as these, they have deserted those their seducers, and returned to the Communion of our Church: yea I perswade my self, there are many kept blindfold still amongst them, of so honest minds, that were they but delivered from this misunderstanding, they would do the like.

Sect. 5. But here the great question will be, how far the Laws of our Church will bear with what we plead for? Will they, as they stand at present, allow any thing of arbitrary Forms or Conceived prayer, in any case? And if they will not, who then of our Clergy can practice either, with a *Salvo* to his conformity and duty?

In answer hereto, I do acknowledge, that who so peruses and considers the statutes and injunctions of King *Edw: VI*, or

or Queen *Elizabeth*, will not there find, to the beſt of my memory, any thing that countenances either. And all favourable interpretation, as far as I can ſee, which can reaſonably be fixt on thoſe Laws, to our purpoſe, will be to ſay, that whereas it is thereby ordained, that all Miniſters ſhould in their publick miniſtration uſe the Forms preſcribed, and no other, we are to remember in what times thoſe Laws were made, reflecting on the then ſtate of things; and then the words and no other, may be conceived to have been peculiarly intended againſt the *Romiſh Miſſal*, *Breviarie*, and *Ritual*, the onely *open prayers* which in thoſe dayes appeared againſt our Liturgy: and conſequently we may conceive, that whatever Miniſter, orderly and conſtantly, uſes the Common Prayers of the Church, and, onely in ſuch caſes wherein nothing is in ſtrictneſs peremptorily injoined, a prayer of his own, conform to the Doctrine of the Church, is not thereby a Tranſgreſſour of the Law, in its principal intent and deſign. But I do not forget that I have ſpoken ſome thing already, which may

much rebate the force of this interpretation.

Now as to *later Lawes* (though the *later* alwayes, the *more of force*, where there appears any thing of an *Antinomy*) I cannot say there are any such in our Church, wherein it was the intention of the Lawgiver to *allow* the free use of arbitrary Forms, or Conceived prayer, so much as before Sermon. But waving a while the intention of the Lawgiver, if we may stand to the words of a later *Canon* (which shall by me be allowed to be an Ecclesiastical Law) I do judge that interpreting them in a favourable sense, we may find something which gives a *permission*, though possibly not a *plain allowance* to such use as we plead for. And then the *practice* of approved men, and a general *conniveance* at this practice, wheresoever it has been soberly and peaceably used, from those whom it has from time to time (so long in a manner as may be accounted *prescriptory*) concerned to execute the lawes, will make the permission much more considerable. Before I proceed to particular proof, for the prevention of such cen-

cenſures as I may poſſibly incur, I will guard my ſelf by premitting the words of as excellent a perſon, as it may be, moſt our Church has had of his Order, and him a ſtrong Patriot to our Liturgy, Diſcipline, and Church. "*The* "*Church* (ſaith Reverend Dr. *Hammond*) "being *obeyed* in the obſervance of the "*Preſcribed Liturgy* in publick, *permits* "ſometimes (and, upon ſpecial inciden- "tal occaſions, preſcribes) *other Forms* "in the *Publick* Congregations, ſo it be "done prudently, piouſly, reverently, "and to edification. And ſo alſo in the "Family, and in the *Viſitation* of the "*ſick*, if the particular condition of the "one or the other require it: and in "the *Cloſet* it is not ſuppoſed by our "Church, but that every one may ask "his own wants in what form of words "he thinks fit. That the Church on *in-cidental occaſions* preſcribes *new* forms, is evident by frequent matter of fact, but avails not to what we are now concernd for. That *ſhe permits other Forms* than the Liturgy *in the publick Congregation* makes indeed for us, and we ſee it plainly to have been that

Pract. Cat. Lib. 3. Sect. 2.

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most pious and religious persons judgments but I am able to see no other passage in our Ecclesiastical laws, on which he could ground it, than the LV Canon of 1603, above insinuated. The *title* of the *Canon* is, The Form of Prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermon. Yet in the *body* of the Canon is *no form* of prayer prescribed, except the Lords prayer for conclusion, onely heads set down for bidding of prayer, according to former useage. The words of the Canon are: Before all Sermons Lectures and Homilies, Preachers and Ministers shall move the People to joyne with them in prayer, in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may. Ye shall pray for the Church, &c. Allwaies concludeing with the Lords Prayer. Now it is plain this Canon is very ambiguous; for it may be either understood of *bidding* of *prayer* (and as to the manner even of this, it leaves some liberty by those words *in this form or to this effect*) or of a *form of prayer*, which the preacher at his discretion may make, as briefe as conveniently may be, com-

compriſeing the heads mentioned: which form may intervene, betwixt his *moveing* (or calling upon) the people to pray, and the Lords prayer, as now the common uſe of moſt preachers is. And although the practice of men of greateſt note in thoſe dayes may ſeem to determin the Canon to the former & more primitive cuſtome of *bidding of prayer*, yet if we do not underſtand the Canon of a *form of Prayer*, the *title* and *body* will not well accord. Upon the whole this ambiguity, & appearance of interfereing of one part with the other is ſo notorious, that it cannot reaſonably be judged unſeen to the compilers of the Canon; and would ſeem therefore to have been deſigned by them, as a prudential kind of temper, for the gratifying all ſober and peaceable men, however of a different practice in this point: For it is evident that the bidding of prayer, which moſt ſeems to be the thing injoynd, is yet ſo injoynd, as that the frameing a prayer on ſuch and ſuch heads (which was then become an uſual practice) is not forbidden or cenſured, but rather, in the wording of the title and Canon, a con-

niveance thereat insinuated. And this seemes the more probable to have been the Churches intention, for that in the Convocation held in the year 1640 it was proposed, that a short forme of prayer should be drawn up, comprising the materialls specified in the Canon, which every Minister should use before his Sermon. And though such a form was prepared, and there was great confidence that it would have been universally received, yet the excellent Archbishop, President of the Convocation, putt a stop thereto as in all likelyhood conceiveing it fitter, tacitly to leave Preachers to their own discretion in this behalfe, than to make a new Canon contrariant to the old use, and former Kings and Queens injunctions.

In the Office of the *Visitation* of the *sick*, the exhortatory part indeed is expressly left in a great measure to the ministers discretion. The words of the Rubrick are, and all along have been, *The Minister shall exhort the sick person in this form, or other like:* which words, *in this form or other like*, whether they may not, in equity and by parity of reason, be ex-

extended to certain enſueing forms of prayer, ought to be conſidered. Sure it is, the dealing with the ſick perſons conſcience is afterwards wholely left, as to matter of expreſſion, to the Miniſters prudence, ſome, & but ſome, materialls onely being ſuggeſted, and no form preſcribed. And from hence it ſeems but a natural conſequent, that it is free for the miniſter, as he ſees occaſion, and finds the ſick mans condition to require, to enlarge or vary the prayers. Theſe are the utmoſt grounds, beſides the obſervation of approved mens practice, which I can find for that reverend Doctors judgment. At leaſt, this is the utmoſt of what I have, to ſay touching any favour or permiſſion, which our Eccleſiaſtical laws give to any other publick prayers, beſides thoſe preſcribed in the Liturgy, in any caſe whatſoever.

If it be ſaid, Permiſſion or Connivance, concluded from ſuch favourable interpretation of laws, and from ſome mens practice (though approved perſons) is not ſufficient to juſtify ſo generally irregular a practice as this is acknowledged to be, I ſay, it is not now ſo irre-

gular as it was fifty or threescore yeares agoe (*Consuetudo loci est lex loci*) The state of things is much altered, the inconveniencies of it, as it is pleaded for, cannot be considerable, if any, and the mischiefs arising from the forbearance of it would be intolerable. And I could further tell those, who most rigorously dissent from me, a thing in their ear, that there is another practice as general, publick and irregular, as what I urge or design, which they both allow, and daily join in, and dare not in their ordinary Congregations break off, neglect, or intermit, notwithstanding it hath no more, from authority, and perhaps never had, than bare permission or connivance, for its justification. It is said indeed in the Title-page of the *English Psalms* put into *Metre* by *T. S. J. H* and others, that they were *set forth and allowed to be sung of all the people* in our publick Congregations. But it is not specified, by whom they were allowed; and as to all Approbation or Allowance from tolerable Authority, those who have diligently searched after any possible foot steps of it, could never yet find any,

any, and are very confident there never was any. But of this haply more elſewhere. However here is a precedent of a practice as obnoxious, as this I plead for, which paſſes, and is like to paſs, current amongſt us all. Let not them therefore implead one another, whom the ſame cauſe joins.

Sect. 6.

And now I ſhould not think it difficult for any to collect, what I judge the utmoſt that may be done in the caſe of any Conceived prayer, or Forms of our own, without diſobedience to the Laws of the Church: However I will ſpeak it out with the freedome and ingenuity I promiſed. I account then, that the reaſons, above laid down, may make it neceſſary to uſe with prudence, ſobriety, and ſubmiſſion to our Superiours, all the liberty which is left us: and, it being permitted to us, as would ſeem by what has been ſaid, either to bid prayer before Sermon, or to compriſe thoſe heads, in the Canon ſuggeſted, in a prayer of our own, ending with the Lords Prayer, it can be no more a tranſgreſſion of the Law commonly to vary our Forms, than it is ſimply to uſe a Form of our own pri-

private compoſures for that every Form ſo varied is ſtill ſuppoſed ſuch. Now it cannot be denied, but that ſince the Conceived way has been ſo magnified and cried up, a multitude of perſons of worth having exerciſed themſelves much therein, it is come to a very conſiderable maturity and perfection. *Many have run to and fro, and knowledge*, or expertneſs in this caſe, *is encreaſed*. As to thoſe therefore who are maſters of ſuch faculty of ſpeech, if *before* their *Sermons*, and ſometimes in the *Viſitation of the ſick*, when any particularity of the Patients condition requires it, they do, upon ſome thought, employ that their ability, and thereby accommodate their prayers as cloſely as they can, with due modeſty, gravity & reverence to particular emergencies and circumſtances, I ſay (to ſpeak in the Apoſtles language in another caſe) *I ſuppoſe it is good for the preſent neceſſity*: nor can I ſee any diſobedience therein, except we ſhould conceive ſome more particular reſtraint laid on ſuch perſons by their Superiours, than that which the Canon hath impoſed. If it be ſaid, that the practice of conceived

Prayer,

Prayer, or ſuch new varied Forms, will bring the Liturgy into contempt or ſlight, and ſo that indirectly and by conſequence it is at once a tranſgreſſion of all the Laws which preſcribe the uſe of the Liturgy, and due reverence thereto, I anſwer by utter denying, that ſuch moderate, diſcreet, and ſober practice, as I have pleaded for, will ordinarily have ſuch effect, and *I* have poſſibly ſome poor experience to the contrary. It will rather prove a grateful variety, adding new ſpirit and heat to the devotions of the multitude, adorning and ſetting forth the *Offerings of God* in a point worthy our moſt ſerious zeal and ſtudy. Many poſſibly, that are ſcorners, will be ſcorners ſtill: but this will tend rather to diminiſh, than encreaſe, the number.

I am very ſenſible how obnoxious to cenſure theſe my conceſſions of the three or four laſt ſections are, how unexpected and ſurpriſeing they may prove to any who have peruſed and conſidered the former diſcourſe, and its purport. It may reaſonably ſeem ſtrange, that after evidence given touching the *Vanity* *Sect.* 7.

of

of the common pretences to the *Gift* of prayer, touching diverſe inconveniences and the *Novelty* of the practice, as alſo the *irregular methods* by which it has *prevailed*; I ſhould in any meaſure act the part of an advocate for the permiſſion or continuance of ſuch practice. But *I* deſire all ſuch, who are apt to take offence at what I have now ſaid, to conſider, in what way I have pleaded for it; not for the ſole and unlimited exerciſe of it at that rate, as it was, and ſtill is by ſome practiced, but ſo regulated, as that the main inconveniences, thereof are avoided; not as coordinate with, much leſſe in oppoſition to, the Church Liturgy, but onely as ſubſervient thereto, and as *I* judge ſuch ſober and prudent exerciſe thereof a mean to reconcile many good minded people to our miniſtry and Church. All wiſe men know, that amongſt the multitude, what is beſt and moſt orderly is not alwayes moſt acceptable, nor can be ſolely prevailed for. I never can think much on ſuch caſes as this, but that of the Stoick preſently runs in my head.

Ὅστις δ' ἀνάγκῃ συγκεχώρηκε κρῖναι,
Σοφὸς παρ' ἡμῖν κἀν θεοῖς ξυνίσταται. Epicte ex Euripid.

Who to Neceſſity *does fairly yield,*
'Mongſt men *is wiſe , in* Gods *mind beſt is skilld.*

How far this is applicable to our preſent caſe , *I* leave to better judgments definitively to conclude, haveing, *I* hope with ſubmiſſion enough, ſpoken mine own thoughts. *I* have no intereſt of mine own in what *I* write: *I* have long ſince ſacrificed all that to God and his Church. In what I have ſpoken I deſigned the Publick good : *It* is poſſibly a weakneſſe in me to think *I* could contribute thereto; but in my place *I* am obliged to endeavour what *I* can. He that ſhall ſay, that under our preſent ſettlement all, that is eſtabliſht, is abſolutely the beſt, and nothing can be amended, ſaies more than our Church does, and has a difficult proof lies on him. There is ſomething , ſaith ſhe , *which is yet to be wiſht :* and 'tis ſufficient to ſay what is eſtabliſht , is as well as for the time it could be. I have the ſame plea to enter for what I have Offi e of comminat.

yielded to the preſent *Genius* of the age. People will not be perſwaded, but that in theſe days they ſtand upon the ſhoulders of all who have lived before them, as they commonly ſay. For knowledge, parts and judgment, they will give place to none, but the inſpired times; and 'tis well if, in all things, they will yield thereto. To ſhew them what thoſe gifts are in truth, which they pretend to, is one way to make them ſober: this I have honeſtly endeavoured. To deny any uſe of them, is to make our ſelves, in their judgment, mad or obſtinate; and for us to pretend to be without them (or which is the ſame, to give no inſtances of them) is to draw upon our ſelves the cenſure of being ſcandalouſly unfit for the places we fil: Both theſe, as rockes, *I* have endeavoured to decline, *I* conclude: *In ſecret*, let every one uſe ſuch words as moſt incite or help his devotion (that being the ſole intent of words in ſuch prayer) or let him forbeare any, if he perceives them to diſtract him. This has ever been the doctrine of the Church, and is ours. In *Publick*, who well conſiders what has been

been ſaid, will preferre mature and well contrived forms, ſuch as *I* may confidently ſay our Church has provided us, haveing far outdon all Churches, whoſe Liturgies I ever yet ſaw. And *whereſoever* the Church has permitted any thing to our *Liberty*, let no private perſon dare to draw the reines ſtraighter. Something of Variety there will be in diverſe mens miniſtration, as long as men are diverſe: and I cannot tell whether any man be ever ſo accompliſht, as that *I* may ſay, he is happy who never varies from himſelf. Not to be content with ſuch an Uniformity, as anſwers the law, is to be ſo far Nonconform. Let us therefore all rather ſtudy to uſe the liberty left us with prudence, ſobriety, and all ſweetneſſe of charity and peaceableneſſe, each approveing himſelfe to God in the conſcientious diſcharge of the miniſtry committed to him, and not cenſuring his brother, who it may be would be what another is, but that he ſees not ſo far and cannot. And *Happy is he who condemneth not himſelf in that which he alloweth.*

The End of the Firſt Part.

OF THE

GIFT

AND

DUTY

OF

SINGING

TO GOD.

Ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι, ψαλῶ δὲ καὶ τῷ νοΐ. 1 Cor 14. 15

Ὧ πῆς σοφῆς ἐπιστείας τὸ διδασκάλιον, ὁμοῦ τε ἄδειν ἡμᾶς, καὶ συμψάλλειν μανθάνειν μηχανωμένου. St. Basil. in Psal.

Ἄγε μοι ψυχὰ, λαβοῦσ' ὕμνους
Ἐπιβαλλομένα λιγυρόν
Κύκνου δίκαν. Synes. Hymn 3.

DUBLIN,
Printed *Anno Dom.* M. DC. LXXVI.

OF THE GIFT AND DUTY OF SINGING To GOD.

CHAP. I.

Sect. 1. *What is out of Controverſie on this ſubject.* Sect. 2. *The Points to be reſolved in this Diſcourſe.* Sect. 3. *How the* inſpired *Church was qualified for this duty.* Sect. 4. *What the ſpiritual gift of ſinging, mentioned* 1 Cor. *XIV,* 15, *was.* Sect. 5. *What* ſpiritual Songs, Pſalms *and* Hymns. Sect. 6. *What Rules laid down by the then inſpired Authours for performance in this kind.*

Sect. 7.

Sect. 7. *What the* melody *of the* heart.
Sect. 8. *A monition to be ſerious in this matter.*

Sect. 1. BEſides the addreſſes, which we owe to God, by way of ſuit, for the obteining what we want, that there are others due as well in return of gratitude for the Good things we receive, as in acknowledgment of his infinite Majeſty, glory, and abſolute perfection, ſcarce requires proof. Theſe addreſſes we commonly call the *Praiſes* of God. Now whether Nature firſt taught, or God by ſecret inſtinct, or otherwiſe, directed the rational part of his creation to offer them up in words fitted to melody, and melodiouſly uttered, cannot perhaps be preciſely decided: certain it is that *ſinging to God* was one of the *firſt acts of worſhip* paid him by any of his creatures. When God was now *laying the foundations of the earth, the morning ſtarres ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy.* Job: XXXVIII. 7. If by the *Morning Starres* we are not to underſtand the Angels (as to me ſeems moſt probable, both

both for that the earth was founded before the creation of the Starres (Gen: I) and becauſe the like appellation is given to ſome of the angels (Iſai: XIV. 12.) yet by the ſons of God here, as well as ch: I.6, we can underſtand no other. It would ſeem therefore, that while the Glorious Creatour framed the Viſible world, the elder part of his work, the inviſible creation, ſung his praiſe: and that which moſt imployed them herein, in all probalility was, the infinite perfection, power, wiſdome and goodneſſe of God, which diſplaied it ſelfe in his handy work. How angels *ſpeak* or *ſing*, none below an Angel can tell. We can therefore hence take no farther direction, for regulateing our practice, than this, that we are to *praiſe* God for his *abſolute excellence* & perfection, however diſcovered by us; according to that of the Royal prophet, *Praiſe him according to his excellent greatneſſe.* PSAL.

That all the generations of the old world were ſilent in the divine praiſe the honour & charity we owe them will not ſuffer us to think, though in what manner they ſet it forth, we cannot ſay. It is

not incredible that he who first found out *Musick*, and taught men to *handle the Harp and the Organ*, contained not himselfe long after the invention, but in joy and gratitude tuned them to the praise of the inspirer. But the next instance, as far as yet I can observe, of praise sung to God, is in the case of the *Israelites* having passed the Red Sea. The great subject of their song, was Gods miraculous mercies to them, and his no less mighty judgments on their Enemies. And here 'tis certain, they both sung in parts, and added instruments to their song, *Exod.* XV. 1, 2, 20, 21. And since that time, *singing* Gods praise has in no age of the Church been disused. Before this indeed, mankind may seem in a great measure to have contented themselves in paying their homage and gratitude by sacrifice, *Gen. IV.* 3, 4. and *VIII.* 20, *&c.* We may not, as I conceive, say, the Patriarchs were all along silent at their sacrifices: however, we are sure, since the constitution of the Church under *Moses* dumb sacrifices have not been usual.

That therefore in the publick assem-

blies

blies of Christians for the Divine Worship, *Singing praises* to God and Christ, ought to take up a considerable part of the Common Service, I presume no sober person will question or gainsay. That also we ought to praise God, as well for his own intrinseck worth and glory, as for the benefits which we personally, or the Church, and Mankind in general, receive at his hands is no less certain: That further, from the very infancy of Christianity to the present days, such practice has been constantly continued in the Church, though not onely the particular forms of Hymns, but the modes and adjuncts of singing them, have been very different, according to the different state of Religion and the Church, and the gradual advances of art, will be as easily admitted. That finally the inward manner of singing, the *Melody of the heart*, that devout affection and frame of soul, which ought inseparably to accompany all our singing, and without which no voice or sound can be pleasing in the ears of God, is most to be attended and provided for, is together with what yet said,

matter of general accord.

Sect. 2. But the duty at large being thus ſoon concluded, it is not ſo eaſie to ſet down, beyond contradiction, due Rules for the beſt kind of performing it; or to define what particular manner of it is together muſt acceptable to God, and moſt conduceing to the edification of the faithfull. There may reaſonably be conceived doubts touching the ſubject matter or argument of what is to be ſung, whether meer ſcripture, or alſo Hymnes of humane compoſure; then touching the form of words, whether metrical or plain proſe; again touching the very manner of ſinging, whether onely with the voice or with conjunction thereof with Muſical inſtruments, as is our preſent Church-uſage. In all theſe points and ſuch other, it is neceſſary it ſhould be ſtated, as certainly as we can, what is the beſt and fitteſt uſe, at leaſt what is lawful and proper to the Chriſtian ſtate, as well for the ſatisfaction of mens conſciences, as for their direction in this their common duty. And for reſolution in all theſe, I ſhall direct diſtinct enquiries unto the

enſueing heads. 1. What was the practice in the *inſpired Church*? How the faithful then were qualified for this duty, and what rules are laid down by the inſpired authours for its performance? 2. Wherein the *Melody* of the heart, ſpoken of by the Apoſtle, conſiſteth? The point, which is mainly regarded by God and to be heeded by us. 3. What has, ſince the inſpired daies, been all along the practice of the Church? And under this head, what in ſeveral ages has been the growth & progreſſe of Church Muſick. 4. Whether the preſent practice of our Church may be juſtifyed by the forementioned authorities? 5. What may be done for the manageing this our preſent practice to the moſt ſpiritual advantage? In anſwer to all which I ſhall endeavour to carry the ſame temper, which I mainteined in the former diſcourſe; and therefore beſeech my reader, abandoning all intereſt, prejudice, and partiality, freely to attend my reaſonings, and weigh their force, I haveing, as moſt ſincerely I can avow, no greater deſign than the promoting ſerious piety, truth and peace.

Sect. 3. In order to the takeing a full view of the Practice of the *Inſpired* age (which was the firſt point to be enquired into) it will be requiſite to conſider two things, as above inſinuated. Firſt how the faithful of thoſe daies were qualified for the performance of this duty, being moſt of them plain and unletterd people; and and then what rules thoſe, who were certainly inſpired men have given for management of ſuch qualifications or endowments, which are in thoſe daies ſuppoſed to have been beſtowed on the faithful. For according to theſe two certainly was the practice.

As to the Former of theſe: We have above ſaid, God has in no age been wanting to his Church; and what any age has not had by ordinary means, he has ſupplied in an extraordinary courſe. When therefore the generality of the faithful were not qualified with abilities, got in the common way, for the inditing of the divine praiſe, it pleaſed God, amongſt other miraculous gifts of the ſpirit, which he poured out on his Church, to infuſe into many a ſpiritual gift facilitateing them in the perform-

ance

ance of this part of the divine worſhip, and ſupplying them both with matter & words, & theſe too in due form for the praiſe of God. Thus much we underſtand by St. *Paul* (1. Cor. XIV, 15. *I will ſing with the ſpirit, and I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo*: which words, by what has been ſaid in the former diſcourſe, it is evident, muſt be underſtood of a ſpiritual gift, nor will they admit naturally any other ſenſe. In thoſe daies therefore, as there were inſpired prayers, forms as it were dictated to the Faithful by the ſpirit, ſo were there alſo inſpired Hymnes or Pſalms: they *ſung with the ſpirit*.

Now as to this *ſpiritual Gift of ſinging*, thus miraculouſly infuſed, what muſt it be? Shall we ſay, skill in ſong, or the art of muſick was inſpired into the primitive Chriſtians by the Holy Ghoſt? I will acknowlege Muſick indeed an accompliſhment worthy of the Holy Ghoſt for its author, fitt to come from heaven, both for its ſweetneſſe and its power. And if *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab* are ſaid to be *filled with the Spirit of God* in reſpect of thoſe meaner mechanical Sect. 4.

arts,

arts, in which they were ſo skillful, much more juſtly might we conceive the firſt *ſweet ſingers* in the Chriſtian *Iſrael* inſpired even in regard of their melodious concent. But this was not the Apoſtles intention: For by his oppoſeing *Singing with*, or by, the *Spirit*, to *ſinging with the underſtanding*, ſo that he who ſung in his ſenſe meerly *with the ſpirit*, did not alſo ſing *with the underſtanding* that is (as before ſaid in the caſe of like prayer) did not *diſtinctly* underſtand what he ſung, it is plain the ſpiritual gift here meant muſt be ſuch, as furniſhed or ſupplied what was ſung. And this is further evident, from the 26th. *verſe*. *How is it then Brethren* ſaith the Apoſtle: *When ye come together Every one of you* [inſpired perſons] *hath a Pſalm, hath a doctrine*, &c. That, which was the particular product or effect of the Gift of *ſinging*, was a *Pſalm* a new, and by virtue of this gift, conceived (as that, which was the product of the gift of *Teaching*, was a *doctrine*, or diſcourſe for the inſtruction of the hearers) and that *Pſalme* inſpired, not ſo much as to any meer muſical utterance or ſinging

of

of it, as to its ſubſtance and muſical Form. What was thus by the ſpirit uttered, as to its *ſubſtance* and ſenſe, contained the praiſe of God and *Chriſt*; and as to its *Form*, it was *fit to be ſung:* and, upon the whole, was therefore a *Chriſtian Pſalm*; which the ſame Apoſtle, as I conceive, elſewhere calls a *Spiritual ſong*, becauſe thus immediately proceeding from ſupernaturall inſpiration.

Shall we then now conclude, we have the due notion of the ſpiritual gift of ſinging, or of *ſinging by the ſpirit?* Surely for the main we have: it is a kind of *inſpired Poeſie.* But yet particularly in the place mentioned, it is certain the Apoſtle deſigned a ſtricter acceptation of the phraſe, than what has yet been delivered, according as has been above made out touching the ſame Text, as a part of it relates to prayer. For, as already noted, *ſinging with the ſpirit* being oppoſed to *ſinging with the underſtanding*, it muſt follow that the Pſalm, or Holy Song, conceived by ſuch gift, was conceived in an unknown Tongue, and that in ſome meaſure unknown to

the very perſon who uttered it. Not but that ſuch perſons knew, in the general, what they were employed in, when they thus ſung, and might poſſibly have ſome confuſed ſenſe of the main drift or import of what the ſpirit moved them to utter, which ſenſe might raiſe much holy zeal and fervour of divine love, with many other acts of Chriſtian Graces in them (in reſpect of which the Apoſtle ſaith, ſuch perſons ſpeaking thus in an unknown Tongue edified themſelves, *ver.* 4. though he ſuppoſe them ſtill ſo far ignorant of the Tongue they ſpoke in, as that they could not utter, what they thus ſaid, in their Mother Tongue, that is, could not *interpret*, *ver.* 13, 14, *&c.*) but a diſtinct notion of each ſentence and word of ſuch Pſalm, by this ſpiritual gift thus uttered, it is plain by the Apoſtles whole ſcope they wanted (whatſoever ſome learned men ſay to the contrary) as will appear to any, who ſhall duly conſider the Apoſtles diſcourſe there, and compare therewith the interpretation of it, by me here and above given. *Singing then with the ſpirit* there ſignifies in ſtrictneſs, an

an inſpired faculty of ſome ſort of Divine Poetry, even in ſtrange and different Tongues.

But although thoſe particular *Corinthians*, of whom the Apoſtle there ſpeaks, had this gift onely in ſtrange Languages, it will not follow that it was ever thus confined or Eclipſed. There were certainly others, both of that and other Churches, who by a ſpiritual gift were able to ſing in their own Tongue, and did ſo, *as the ſpirit gave them utterance.*

And in this ſenſe, the *Spirit of ſinging*, or inditing the divine praiſe, was not then altogether a new thing. For though it had been ſome time diſcontinued, from the ceſſation of Prophets, yet before that ceſſation it had been conſpicuous enough in the Church. By virtue of the inſpiration hereof at ſome extraordinary ſeaſons, ſeveral more eminent Saints have conceived the divine praiſe in moſt lofty and divine Forms, uttered upon the ſudden as the occaſion required; which could not have been done, ſo elegantly and exquiſitely, without an immediate *afflatus* or breathing of the Holy Ghoſt. Of this Origin, and no

other, are all those Hymns on several incidental occasions in the Old Testament. To omit other instances: when *Hanna* had obtained the mercy she praid for, and brought the son of her prayers to present him to the Lord in *Shiloh*, whereas the Scripture text saith onely *she prayed and said*, the *Targum* paraphrases it וצליאת חנה ברוח נבואה *And* Hannah *prayed with* (or by) *the spirit of prophesie*. Now what follows of *Hannah's* devotion being purely matter of praise, and not one petition, or any thing of prayer strictly so called, in it, it is plain the word *praying* must be taken in its amplest extent, for *invoking* God in general, or directing any act of Worship with the voice unto him, in which acceptation it evidently comprehends *praising God*. Herebythen it appears, that the old Jewish Church conceived the spirit of prophesie to be so universal a gift or inspiration, as amongst other offices to fit and enable them who had it, for the ready inditing and *singing* the Divine praise. And we have the same expression, more than once in the undoubted Canon of Scripture: particularly touching

ing *Zacharias*, on an occasion like to that of *Hanna's*, Luke *I.* 67. *And* Zacharias *was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, saying, Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people. And &c.* where *prophesying* must needs signifie his extraordinary forming and uttering that inspired Hymn; and his being *filled with the Holy Ghost*, the inspiration which enabled him thereto. Proportionably also to this sense, are to be understood those Texts in the Old Testament, where we read of particular persons at certain times, prophesying to the Psaltery, and Tabret, and Pipe, 1 *Sam.* X. 5. *Thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a Psaltery, and a Tabret, and a Pipe, and an Harp before them, and they shall prophesie. And the spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesie also.* Ye shall all, by extraordinary spirit, sing the divine praise in inspired Form. Thus too, when God took of the *spirit which was on* Moses, *and put it on the seventy Elders*, Numb. *XI.* 25. *it came to pass when the spirit rested on them, they prophesied.*

And to name no more places, 1 *Chron. XXV.* 1. *David ſeparated* certain of *the ſons of* Aſaph, *and of* Heman, *and of* Jeduthun, *who ſhould propheſie with Harps, with Pſalteries and Cymbals.* By theſe and ſeveral other paſſages, that might be alledged, it is plain that there was, in the ancient inſpired times of the Jewiſh Church, a certain *ſpiritual gift* enabling thoſe particular perſons who had it, at ſuch times as they had it, to indite, utter and ſing the *praiſe* of God, and that ſo, as to be underſtood and taken notice of by all who heard them.

Wherefore the former and more general notion, though it is not more proper to that Text of St. *Paul*, yet is more proper to the nature of the thing. The gift of ſinging then, in its true latitude, was I ſay a kind of *inſpired divine Poeſie*, taking here *Poeſie* for a *Poetical faculty.*

This poſſibly may, if not offend ſome, who are as unmerciful to Poetry, as *Plato* was to Poets, yet not be readily received by all others. For it may ſeem reaſonable, that as the firſt Chriſtian ſinging was little elſe but an harmonious plain pronunciation, ſo their Chriſtian

ſongs

ſongs or Pſalms, were plain proſe, & wanted all Poetical form. In anſwer whereto I ſay, that however it is not impoſſible, that there may be ſome men of ſuch an odd natural temper, as to be neither delighted with Poetry nor Muſick, yet it is moſt certain the ſpirit of God is no ſuch enemy to either, both of them haveing proceeded thence, and been conducted thereby. As to Muſick more anon in a more proper place: our preſent diſcourſe is more concernd touching Poetry. Now that the praiſes of God were conceived in Poetical form, by the direction and inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, under the old teſtament, is beyond denial. How much ſoever is loſt as to the knowledge of the old *Hebrew* Poeſy, we are ſure we have thus much skill therein, ſtill left, as that we are able to diſtinguiſh betwixt the *Hebrew* Verſe and Proſe. And we are ſure particularly, that whereas the one and thirty firſt Chapters of *Deuteronomy* are writ in *Proſe*, the two and thirtieth chapter, to the fourty third verſe, inclusively, that is the whole ſong of *Moſes*, is writ in *Verſe*: and yet theſe forty three

verſes

verſes, though ſtrictly a Poem, are no leſs ſcripture, or of the Holy Ghoſts inditeing, than is the reſt of the book which is Proſe. The ſame have we to ſay touching the Song of the *Iſraelites*, *Exod.* XV. the Book of Pſalms, and other parts of the old Teſtament. Now where is the inconvenience in admitting, that the ſame Holy ſpirit, which under the old Teſtament inſpired the praiſes of God for the publick uſe of the Church in Poeticall form, might alſo do the ſame under the Goſpel ſtate? Eſpe-
2 Cor. III. 9. cially when this *Miniſtration was to exceed in Glory*, and that glory to conſiſt in nothing more, than the more liberal effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt. Nay, if we may take words to ſignifie in ſcripture, what they ſignify every where, in common Authours and by common conſent, it is ſure, the praiſes of God were, under the Chriſtian ſtate, thus inſpired; and the gift, which we are now treating of, inabled men, otherwiſe than by inſpiration unskillful, thus to indite them.

Sect. 5. We find, in two of St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, three ſeveral terms relateing, as it would ſeem, to thoſe praiſes of God, which the

pri-

primitive Christians used to offer: And both for the further clearing this spiritual gift, & for the makeing good what I have just now determined, it will be necessary to consider the import of each. The terms are in both places set down in the same order thus, *Psalmes and Hymnes and Spiritual Songs*. Whether these terms are synonymous, and may signifie there much the same thing, some may question: but most interpreters conceive them diverse. I do not deny but in many places of scripture, they, as other words different in their strict notions but agreeing in their common ones, may be used promiscuously. Thus I have already said a *Spiritual Song* is called (1. *Cor.* XIV. 26.) a *Psalm*: and probably *a Psalm* (*Mat.* XXVI. 30.) is called an *Hymn*, viz. by reason of that common nature, wherein they agree: but the Apostle, in those two places mentioned, seeming to enumerate, or particularise, all the several forms of divine praise then in use, it will be most proper there to take them under different, and each in their strict notions; though what those are, in so great variety of Classes, as we may find on

verſes, though ſtrictly a Poem, are no leſs ſcripture, or of the Holy Ghoſts inditeing, than is the reſt of the book which is Proſe. The ſame have we to ſay touching the Song of the *Iſraelites*, *Exod.* XV. the Book of Pſalms, and other parts of the old Teſtament. Now where is the inconvenience in admitting, that the ſame Holy ſpirit, which under the old Teſtament inſpired the praiſes of God for the publick uſe of the Church in Poeticall form, might alſo do the ſame under the Goſpel ſtate? Eſpecially when this *Miniſtration was to exceed in Glory*, and that glory to conſiſt in nothing more, than the more liberal effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt. Nay, if we may take words to ſignifie in ſcripture, what they ſignify every where, in common Authours and by common conſent, it is ſure, the praiſes of God were, under the Chriſtian ſtate, thus inſpired; and the gift, which we are now treating of, inabled men, otherwiſe than by inſpiration unskillful, thus to indite them.

2 Cor. III. 9.

Sect. 5. We find, in two of St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, three ſeveral terms relateing, as it would ſeem, to thoſe praiſes of God, which the

primitive Christians used to offer: And both for the further clearing this spiritual gift, & for the makeing good what I have just now determined, it will be necessary to consider the import of each. The terms are in both places set down in the same order thus, *Psalmes and Hymnes and Spiritual Songs.* Whether these terms are synonymous, and may signifie there much the same thing, some may question: but most interpreters conceive them diverse. I do not deny but in many places of scripture, they, as other words different in their strict notions but agreeing in their common ones, may be used promiscuously. Thus I have already said a *Spiritual Song* is called (*1. Cor.* XIV. 26.) a *Psalm*: and probably *a Psalm* (*Mat.* XXVI. 30.) is called an *Hymn*, viz. by reason of that common nature, wherein they agree: but the Apostle, in those two places mentioned, seeming to enumerate, or particularise, all the several forms of divine praise then in use, it will be most proper there to take them under different, and each in their strict notions; though what those are, in so great variety of Classes, as we may find on

this ſubject, is not eaſie to reſolve, beyond the contradiction of ſuch, who ſtand affected to ſcruple or cavile. To proceed as ſurely as I can, I will firſt conſider the common and agreed import of theſe words in our ordinary Books, and then what peculiar notion Scripture ſuperadds to each.

The moſt general of all thoſe terms, in abſolute nature, I take to be the word *Song*, in *Greek* ᾠδὴ (which we have made *Engliſh*, commonly an *Ode*) now an *Ode* hath ever been eſteemd to be of Poetical form, and comes as all know, immediately from the verb Ἀείδω or ᾄδω to *ſing*; which the Poets claim to themſelves, as their proper, and in a manner ſpecifick, act: and are from thence almoſt as commonly called ἀοιδοὶ *ſingers* (becauſe compilers of Songs) as Poets. It is truly obſerved by that great Critick in this kind, that there is no word ſo ſmall, which admits not ſome *mode of quality and quantity*. Its *quality* lies in an aptitude for a *flat* or *ſharp ſound*: its *quantity*, in the *time* or duration of its *pronunciation*. Both theſe make it fit for Muſick. Now the diſpoſing words and ſen-

Scalig. Poetic. lib. 1. c. 2.

ſentences according to ſuch fitneſs into harmony, by certain numbers and laws, is that which we call making *Verſes*: and ſeveral ſuch Verſes artificially put together we call a *Song*.

The word *Pſalm* ſignifies ſuch a Song not meerly as it has in it harmony, or an aptitude to be ſung, but as it is either deſigned, or actually ſung, to ſome Muſical inſtrument. And thus much is commonly agreed, and muſt be concluded from the Etymology of the word, and the import of its Original ψάλλω exactly anſwering to the *Hebrew* זמר, of both which more anon. Now each of theſe terms, Song and Pſalm, in their own nature are indifferent, or not determined to any ſort of ſubject matter, holy or common, ſad, joyful or moral.

Contrarily, an *Hymn* properly is a Song or Pſalm in the praiſe of ſome true or reputed God. For that diſtinction of *Theophylacts* will not hold water, that Pſalms and Songs are of *Men.*, Hymnes onely of *Angels*. We know *Homer*, *Orpheus*, *Callimachus*, and divers others writ *Hymns*, who never dreamt of *Angels* ſinging: and the name *Hymn* is fre-

quently in Scripture attributed to the praiſes given to God by men, not at all, that I have obſerved, to thoſe by Angels. From any *Origination* of this word I can collect little or nothing. The Grammarians derive it form ᾄδω and that, being of ſmall uſe if any, is as much ſaith *Heſychius* as ᾄδω, and at this rate an Hymn and an Ode, or ſong, would be perfectly of the ſame *import*, but that *uſe* has taken the one in a common, the other onely in a ſacred ſenſe. However it is certain ὑμνοποιὸς is as much as ἀοιδὸς and as frequently, uſed to ſignify a Poet; as alſo ὑμνεῖν for ἀείδειν. So that the reſult of the whole will be, *ſongs (or Odes) Pſalmes and Hymnes*, all three of them, were wont, according to the common uſe of the words, to be compoſures writt in Poetical form.

We will now examin what ſcripture has ſuperadded to the common notions of theſe words. In the places above mentioned, to the words *ſongs* is added *Spiritual*. This, ſay Commentatours, is in oppoſition to the lewd and laſcivious ſongs, which were the great entertainment of heathen mirth. It may be ſo: but:

though

thoughthere appear ſome colour for the Antitheſis in the immediate context, *Eph.* V, yet none in *Coloſſ*: III: and the form of ſpeech ſo neerly agreeing in both, I rather incline to interpret *Spiritual ſongs*, as before inſinuated, of ſongs indited by the Holy Ghoſt in the praiſe of God and Chriſt, and uttered by virtue of a peculiar ſpiritual Gift, according to the paſſage of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians* ſo fully, I preſume, cleared. But Notwithſtanding all, it they were ſpiritual ſongs in any ſenſe, they were ſongs ſtill, and therefore according to the common import of the word, which we cannot ſay ſcripture hath varied, indited in ſome Poetical form. As to the term *Pſalms*, I am able to obſerve little or noaddition to it, or variation of it in ſcripture from that its common notion before delivered, ſaveing onely that it is in ſcripture alwayes uſed in an holy ſenſe. It certainly ſignifies in the old teſtament Hymnes deſigned to be uſed with inſtrumental muſick: and in the new it is conceived, and that with great reaſons, to have a particular reference to the book of *Pſalms*. Thus when our Lord with his

disciples, after his last supper, at the Feast of the Passeover, is said to have *sung an Hymn*, it is generally thought by learned men, that as he took the very Elements of his Supper, and the Form of Benediction, together with the Rites of Administration in a great part, from the Jewish useage in the Passeover, so he used the same Psalms with them, the *Great Hallelujah*, as they call the **CXIII**, and the five following Psalmes. Nor do I see any inconvenience of interpreting these two passages of S. *Paul*, & that of St. *James*, Ch. V. (in all which Christian men are injoined to *speak to, admonish, and sing* with one another in *Psalms*) of the Book of Psalms chiefly or especially. However, that the notion above given is to be affixt to the term *Psalms*, even in the New Testament, I could produce almost endless authorities. *Psalmi dicuntur eximia illa carmina* Davidis *& aliorum, quæ in Templo citharis & Naliis aptari solebant*, Grot. in Ephes. 5. 19. *Psalmus, concisum & numeris distinctum carmen. Propriè refertur ad instrumenta, notatque modulationes artificiosas certis cæsuris & numeris incisas*. Gualpt. ad

Mat. XXVI. 30.

Paul. Brug. on Psa. 112. as he reckons Camer. in Mat. 26. Monta. Ir. Lightfoot, &c.

ad eund. loc. *Psalmus, in quo concinendo adhibetur musicum aliquod instrumentum præter linguam* Calvin in Col: 3. 16. And to omit the rest, of our men, To the same purpose speak *Estius* and the better sort of the Romish commentators.

The Scripture Notion of *Hymnes* is yet behind: and though I do not remember my self to have ever met with any Hymnes in profane Authours, but what were writ in verse, properly so called, yet it must be acknowledged otherwise in the Holy Writings. To the nature of a Scripture-Hymn, it is sufficient that it contain the praises of God, however indited, whether in verse or in prose. And indeed it may be observed amongst the very Heathens, that though most of their Hymnes now extant are writ in strict verse, observing usual measures and numbers, yet they had a freer sort of Poetry, called *Dithyrambick*, wherein sometimes they used to celebrate the acts and natures of their Gods. This some, who kept to severer laws themselves, conceived to neglect all laws: and particularly *Horace* himself doubted not to say of *Pindar*,

wri-

writing in this kind,

Carm. lib. 4. Od: 2.

—per audaces nova Dithyrambos
Verba devolvit, numerisq; fertur
Lege ſolutis.

Cicer: de Orator: lib. 3.

But the judgment of the Oratour touching this way, to me ſeems much the truer and juſter; that it is onely *Licentior & Divitior*, of more daring freedome, and richer, as conſiſting of (*numeris procerioribus*) loftier, and as it were taller, feet or numbers, than common verſe: but yet certainly it is no leſs Poetry than the ſtricteſt kind of Verſe. Now of this kind of Poetry may thoſe Hymns in the Old Teſtament be, which ſome learned men, will ſcarce admit to be verſe, becauſe they ſay they are *nullis numeris aſtricta*. Such, as near as can be diſcerned, do I avow the *Hymn* of *Deborah*, of which particularly amongſt others, the forementioned judgment has been paſſed. It has a very artificial, figurate, ſublime & flouriſhing vein runs through it wholly; and each ſtrain is melodious. The ſong of *Hannah*, alike cenſured, (*1 Sam. II.*) is indeed according to due

Grot. in Mat: 26:30.

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nd *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis* of the Ancients,
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In prolog. ad Job. Orig. l. 1. c. 38. Davidis Lyra.

In tract. de Proſod. Metric.

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In prolog. ad Job. Orig. l. 1. c. 38. Davidis Lyra.

In tract. de Prolol. Metric.

"from the ſtyle of their common books,
"as being conciſe, confined in ſhort
"clauſes, lofty, *allegorical* or full
"of alluſions, *hyperbolical* expreſſing
"things above their plain ſtate, and
"glorious with all variety of ornamen-
"tal figures and repetitions. And as
to any chiming of *Rhythms*, which the
modern *Hebrews* now ſo much affect in
the *verſe* they write, the ſame induſtri-
ous Authour truly ſays, (*Non alius cu-*
Ibid. *ratus fuit, quàm qui ſuâ ſponte prodiret,*
& fortuitò incideret, non autem ſtudio
elaborato videretur accerſitus; quod non
rarò etiam Davidi *imprimis accidiſſe ani-*
madvertimus) "There was none looked
"after by the Ancients, but what offe-
"red it ſelf of its own accord, and fell
"in as by accident, and which could
"not ſeem drawn in by ſtudy, or
"thoughtful deſign: which ſucceſs we
"may obſerve *David* (the ſweet ſinger
of Iſrael) "to have had moſt frequent-
"ly of any of the ſacred Poets. Now
this being admitted to have been the
genuine nature and conſtitution of the
old Hebrew Poetry, as I am ſure it is,
I may ſafely conclude there is not one
Hymn

Hymn in the Old Teſtament, which is not indited by the Holy Ghoſt in Poetical forum. As to thoſe in the New, the Hymns of the Bleſſed *Mary*, of *Zacharias*, and of *Simeon*, it is ſure we have them not in their Originals, (for they were undoubtedly uttered in *Hebrew*, at leaſt in ſome Dialect thereof, however they come to us in *Greek*) and therefore we cannot make ſo exact a judgement of them. Onely this we may ſay: that even in the *Greek* appears ſomething of the *Hebrews* Poetical character of ſpeech, before deſcribed: and let any one compare the *Magnificat* with *Hanna*'s Song, and he will ſoon ſay, the frame and ſtyle of both is ſo like, that as the one, being in *Hebrew*, is verſe, ſo would the other be alſo, were it in that language; and conſequently, that in all probability it was at firſt Poetically indited. And the ſame in proportion, may as reaſonably be concluded of the other. That addreſs of the Church (*Acts IV.* 24.) which the Learned *Grotius* reckons amongſt the New-Teſtament-hymns, I do not ſee how to make an Hymn of, there being not one ſtrain

In Mat. 26.

in it properly laudatory; but it is onely an occasional prayer, indited indeed I confess by the Holy Ghost; and so an instance of inspired prayers, as those above mentioned are instances of inspired Hymns. Those Hymns in the *Revelation*, which St. *John* heard sung by the Heavenly inhabitants, are confessedly prose, though in what form or language he heard them, or conceived himself to hear them, we cannot speak. However therefore in regard as well of them, as of the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* and the *Nunc dimittis*, and of other such (if there be any other) Hymns in the New Testament, I have said, it is sufficient to the constitution of a Scripture-hymn, that it contain the praise of God, in what form soever it be composed.

In summe, it appearing by what I have said, that both *Psalms* and *spiritual songs* were alwayes of *poetical* form, and Psalms beyond question indited in that very form by the Holy Ghost; that also *Hymns* were most usually of like form, by the instinct and conduct of the same Holy Ghost; and finally, that the

the *ſpiritual gift* was a ſupernatural faculty of conceiving and uttering new ſpiritual Songs and Hymns, it is moſt reaſonable to conclude the ſpiritual gift or *ſpirit of ſinging*, ſpoken of as above by the Apoſtle, to have been a certain kind of *inſpired Divine-poeſie*; truly enough ſo called, though not at all confining it ſelf to the ſtricter and more curious rules of the *Grecian* or *European* uſe.

It follows now that we proceed to ſuch rules, which Authours undoubtedly inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, have laid down for the due managing of this gift, and regulating the Office of *ſinging* to God: and that we conſider in what proportion they are accommodadable to our preſent age. Two Rules we may deduce from that Text of Saint *Paul*, where we have the forementioned expreſs term of *ſinging by the ſpirit*. *Sect. 6.*

Firſt, when he ſayes, *I will ſing with the ſpirit, and I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo*, it is plain he allows it as a juſtifiable deſign of the *Corinthians* zeal, that there ſhould be *ſinging with*

the ſpirit: that is (to wave what was extraordinary and peculiar to that ſtate of the Church; and to ſpeak in the language, as well as with proportion to the condition of the preſent Church) There ought to be in the praiſes of God, both Elegance and Harmony. Elegance ariſeth from the proper, neat and decent choice of ſenſe and words. Harmony, firſt from the aptneſs of the words to Muſick, and thus far Poetry goes; and then from the application of Muſical Notes to the words, which, when done with humane voice, we call *ſinging*.

Now both theſe, I ſay, the Apoſtle concludes ought to be in the praiſes of God, which Chriſtian people, either more privately, or the Church in publick, offer up unto him. For the ſpiritual gift, by the conduct of which the Apoſtle would have them ſing, being no principle of ſlovenlineſs and unhandſome expreſſion, nor of harſhneſs and confuſed jargon, but of the contrary, when he ſayes *I will ſing with the ſpirit*, he plainly reſolves, both theſe are to be deſired and endeavoured in the

the praiſe of God: and he expreſſing himſelf indefinitely, we may extend the ſinging he ſpeaks of to all inſtances of it, publick or private. For further clearing of this point we are to conſider, that it may be ſaid touching the primitive Chriſtians generally, they had neither learning nor art, and yet they had both. They had neither, as gotten by the common methods of Precepts and Exerciſe: they had both as immediately inſpired into them by God. Arts and Learning were ever in the Chriſtian Church, onely the manner of attaining to them has been different. So then, when the Apoſtle ſaith, *I will ſing with the ſpirit*, it is as much as if he had ſaid, what Learning and Arts there are, apt for the publick or private praiſe of God, in the Church, ſhould be employed and uſed in the offering up his praiſe. This onely is the difference betwixt the then ſtate of the *Corinthian* Church, and the preſent age: they *ſung by the ſpirit*, when they ſung in the elegance and harmony, which the Holy Ghoſt had immediately inſpired into them; we ſing by the ſpirit, when

when we ſing with ſuch elegance and harmony, as we have acquired by the common influence of the Holy Ghoſt upon our induſtry, and uſe of ordinary methods. However 'tis plain, if both are to ſing with the ſpirit, the work of that ſpirit being abilities qualifying perſons for this office of ſinging, both are to ſing with ſome elegance and harmony, onely each with ſuch as reſpectively they have. This then is the ſumme of the firſt Rule, that as the inſpired perſons were to exerciſe their gifts; ſo we, what more common skill we have, meet to the purpoſe, in ſinging the Divine praiſe.

The ſecond Rule we muſt fetch out of the ſame place, and particularly from thoſe words, *and I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo.* The Rule will be this; that all Art which is uſed, or which may be allowed in the praiſe of God, ought to be conſiſtent with thoſe praiſes being diſtinctly underſtood; and that both by the perſons, who utter them, and the Congregation which hears, and ſo is to join therein, at leaſt by conſent. This is moſt

plain

plain from the words already alledged, and may further appear from what immediately follows *ver.* 16, & 17. *Else when thou ſhalt bleſs with the ſpirit* (*viz.* by thy ſpiritual gift, or art as aforeſaid) *how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay Amen, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt. For thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified.* Great care therefore ought to be taken in all our Church-Muſick, that the Muſick as little as may be, prejudice the diſtinct perceiving of the words, and ſo attending the ſenſe. For whether the Hymn, or Pſalm, become unintelligible to the Commonalty by the ſtrangeneſs of the language, or curioſity of the Muſical form, in which it is performed, devotion is equally deſtroyed, be it howſoever unintelligible; but of this more hereafter.

A third Rule we are to fetch, from comparing the Text now mentioned, with thoſe above alledged, touching *Pſalms*, and *Hymns*, and ſpiritual Songs. *Epheſ.* V. 19. *Coloſ. III.* 16, and that of St. *James*, chap. V. 13. *Is any of*

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The ſecond Rule we muſt fetch out of the ſame place, and particularly from thoſe words, *and I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo.* The Rule will be this; that all Art which is uſed, or which may be allowed in the praiſe of God, ought to be conſiſtent with thoſe praiſes being diſtinctly underſtood; and that both by the perſons, who utter them, and the Congregation which hears, and ſo is to join therein, at leaſt by conſent. This is moſt

plain

plain from the words already alledged, and may further appear from what immediately follows *ver.* 16, & 17. *Else when thou ſhalt bleſs with the ſpirit* (*viz.* by thy ſpiritual gift, or art as aforeſaid) *how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay Amen, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt. For thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified.* Great care therefore ought to be taken in all our Church-Muſick, that the Muſick as little as may be, prejudice the diſtinct perceiving of the words, and ſo attending the ſenſe. For whether the Hymn, or Pſalm, become unintelligible to the Commonalty by the ſtrangeneſs of the language, or curioſity of the Muſical form, in which it is performed, devotion is equally deſtroyed, be it howſoever unintelligible; but of this more hereafter.

A third Rule we are to fetch, from comparing the Text now mentioned, with thoſe above alledged, touching *Pſalms*, and *Hymns*, and ſpiritual Songs. *Epheſ.* V. 19. *Coloſ. III.* 16, and that of St. *James*, chap. V. 13. *Is any of*

jou merry, let him ſing Pſalms. I have ſaid above, St. *Paul* ſpeaking of ſinging indefinitely in the Text to the *Corinthians*, the paſſage may be underſtood of publick or private ſinging to God: and it is plain by the Context there, a man might ſing by the ſpirit to his own private edification, as well as to the publick benefit of the Church. However, the Apoſtle by the ſcope of his diſcourſe, driving there more at publick than private performances, it will be meet to take notice, that the two other places of St. *Paul*, and that of St. *James*, injoin ſinging as Chriſtian mens private entertainment. *Be not drunk with wine, wherein is exceſs, but be filled with the Holy Ghoſt: ſpeaking to your ſelves* (or to one another) *in Pſalms and Hymns, &c.* Let not your mirth be that mad, revelling jollity of the Heathen, but in your private rejoycings, when you are together, entertain your ſelves with the praiſe of God; ſuch joy both better becoming Chriſtians, and being of better conſequence. The ſame evidently is the ſenſe of the other places. Now from hence the Rule is, that ſinging to God

God is not onely an office of publick Worſhip, but an exerciſe which ſhould employ Chriſtian people in their more private congreſs, in their Families, and as occaſion ſerves, in their very ſolitude too, at leaſt oftner than generally they aſſemble together in publick. It is really to be lamented, that many in our age will ſcarce hear of private Pſalmody, but, becauſe both it and ſome other Chriſtian practices have been made ſtalking-horſes and blinds by ſome hypocritical men, therefore inveigh againſt it & ſuch other holy exerciſes, as beſpeaking onely a Puritanical or Fanatick ſpirit. Alike ſad is it, that ſo many thouſand excellent Wits, one generation after another, ſtill evaporate onely in froth or luſt. Certainly it were much more noble, and worthier of our *Beaux Eſprits*, of our lottieſt and ſweeteſt ſons of Harmony, to tune their inſtruments in private, as *David* did his Harp, ſometimes in the Divine praiſe, rather than ever to vain & carnal delight. But I hope there are not a few ſober and conformable men, who are highly enough ſenſible of this extreme into

which the World is run, and if private Lauding of God, must have an unhandsome character affixt to it, are not therefore deterred from what is so clearly their duty, and so much their interest: *After this Heresie will they worship the God of their Fathers.*

Lastly, that general rule, by which all Gifts are to be measured, and the performance of all Offices in the Church to be regulated, is applicable to this particular Gift and Office, and was evidently designed to this amongst others by the Apostle, in the very place where he laies it down. *Forasmuch as ye are zealous of spiritual Gifts, seek that ye may excell for the* edifying *of the Church*; study that in the exercise of all Gifts, and therefore of this, as follows *ver.* 15, *&c.* Not onely then all unintelligible exercise hereof is to be forborn, as *ver.* 16, 17, of which we have already spoken, but all confused, disorderly or indecent management. In the publick, one must not be at his *Lauds*, when another is at his *doctrine*, and a third at his prayers or confessions. *ver.* 26. Nor must one mans performance be such as shall confound the

1 Cor. XIV. 12.

the reſt. *ver.* 28, 29, 31. But all, as to this Office, as well as others, muſt be done *decently and in order.* ver. 40.

And the decency certainly ought to be conſidered, in regard both of the matter ſung, and the manner of ſinging. As to the matter ſung in the inſpired Church of old: No doubt but the Holy Ghoſt, who inſpired into thoſe primitive Saints, Pſalms, Hymns, or ſpiritual Songs, that is, the praiſe of God in fit form to be ſung, provided much more for the fitneſs and decency of the ſubject matter, than for any exactneſs of outward form; that was moſt heavenly, pure, and every way appoſite and congruous to the age and occaſion. And accordingly our firſt and chiefeſt care, in diſcharge of our preſent duty of ſinging to God, ought to be, that the ſubject matter of our Hymns be duly choſen, that it be becoming the Majeſty of God, and ſuiting with the condition and ſtate of the Church. It is to be remembred, that there is a vaſt difference betwixt the Legal and Evangelical ſtate, betwixt the *Moſaical* and Chriſtian Worſhip,

promiſes and hopes. Though therefore, with due application, and taken in a Chriſtian ſenſe, we may with great advantage ſing *David's* Pſalms (of which more hereafter) yet it is very certain, there ought to be Hymns in more expreſs and direct Chriſtian terms than are thoſe, which were properly calculated for another Oeconomy: nor can any man imagine, that what was once fit for the ſervice of God under the Law, and as ſuch dictated by the Holy Ghoſt, is therefore eternally meet & ſeaſonable, or moſt proper for a Chriſtian Quire. Much leſs is it tolerable, that things ſhould be foiſted in to the Publick Lauds, becauſe the words in which they are expreſſed, are of a rowling or jingling ſound, and tickle the ear or fancy of an empty Muſician. The primitive Church, by her Canons, committed the direction what ſhould be ſung, to deeper and graver judgments. Again, there is a *Decorum*, as to the very manner and kind of the Muſick, which is to be obſerved. Muſick is therefore uſed in the Worſhip of God, becauſe of the power it hath upon the mind

mind of man, to raiſe good affections and calm diſorderly ones. That Muſick therefore, which in ſtead of exciting devotion, and compoſing the ſoul to a ſedate and fixed temper, onely moves light & giddy thoughts, induces an aiery humour, and ſporting, friſking dancing paſſions, is altogether to be baniſhed the Chriſtian Worſhip. To ſet Anthems or Services in the way of Madrigals or Galliards (as ſome of late have in a manner done) is to debauch Devotion, to pervert the Worſhip of God, and as it were to take pains to make men wanton therein: And it certainly argues either want of judgment, information of, or attention to the true ends of *Church-Muſick*, or want of ſeriouſneſs, and a real fear of God, in the hearts of all ſuch, who either introduce or affect ſuch practice. For thoſe Mercurial nimble-finger'd men, are either ſenſible of the natural effects of ſuch Muſick upon the generality of Mankind, or not: if they are, and yet maintain ſuch unſeaſonable uſe, I do not ſee how to excuſe them of irreligion; if they are not, let them ſee how to acquit themſelves

of

of ignorance in the power of their beloved Art and Humane nature.

As to any conducency to edification, arising from order kept in singing. I do not see much to be wanting in the constitution of our Church. First, there is no other Office actually engaging the Congregation, when Divine Hymns are sung; but that all both may and ought attend thereto, and, distinctly consenting, join therein. Then, in our *Cathedral use*, there are none to sing but such who may pass, in the style of the old Canon, for Ψαλται κανονικοι, regular singers, who if they observe their rule (as they are generally able to do) can neither be presumed to disturb the Congregation, nor one the other; but all sweetly to conspire in such utterance of the praise of God, as must needs draw forth the affections, and engage the hearts of all such who are not stupid or heedless. And as to such others of the Congregation, who strike in at the *Chorus*'s, or Versicles, or in chanting the Psalms, and such like parts of the Service, these are all exercised or skilful persons, and create no interruption to

Conc. Laod. Can. 15.

to the devotion of any, but only make up the conſent much fuller. In the *Parochial* uſe, eſpecially of ſinging the Metrical Verſion of the Pſalms, the common practice is indeed obnoxious. It is hard to ſay whether the Metre, the uſual choice of Pſalms by the Pariſh-Clerks, or the peoples ſinging be worſe: all is pitiful and mean; and eſpecially the ſinging oftentimes full of ungrateful jarres, diſcords, ſqueaks, ſcreeches, roaring, &c. which ſeverally I wiſh brought to a more regular, comely and orderly courſe; and what may be done privately, and without any noiſe, to this purpoſe, I ſhall hereafter conſider. But the preſent diſorderly practice, is no conſtitution of our Churches: at the utmoſt, it has been onely permitted, out of a kind of neceſſity, to the will of the people, becauſe yet it could be no better; and therefore it is not to be imputed to our Church, eſpecially by ſuch who are adverſe to her Laws, becauſe there is no ſort of men ſo ſtiffe for this practice as themſelves. Laſtly, as to the interweaving Hymns, ſometimes with Leſſons of Holy Scripture, ſome-

times with prayers, though ſome men have ſpoken againſt it, I ſincerely profeſs my ſelf to judge it a moſt reaſonable and profitable Order. For, reading ſuggeſts occaſion, matter, and freſh thoughts for the praiſe of God. Praiſe again, whets and quickens the mind for new attention to the truths of the Goſpel, or Rules of Holy Life. And prayer derives and fetches down a freſh influence of the divine grace, diſpoſing, and as it were, molding the heart into a ſofter and more zealous temper for praiſe. Thus by an happy enterchange, one Office *makes ready* or *prepares the way* to another, and a grateful variety through the whole Service, takes off the *Tædium* of all, and renders the performance, though of a conſiderable length, pleaſing even to fleſh and bloud.

Now ſuppoſing theſe Rules obſerved, that the praiſes of God are gracefully indited, that they are intelligibly uttered, that the matter be meet and proper, and the manner of ſinging grave and reverent, and all orderly performed (which are, in ſumme, the parti-

cu-

cular Rules laid down) what can there be wanting to make up ſuch a conſent and ſymphony, as ſhall be acceptable and delightful to God, but that *Inner Part* which the Apoſtle calls *Melody in* (or of) *the Heart*? And what that imports, we will now examine as a fit cloſe to theſe Apoſtolical Rules. Eph. V

To *ſing and make melody to the Lord in the heart* is, ſay ſome, to ſing *ex corde* from the heart, and not with the tongue alone; more plainly others *intentionem hujus laudis ad Dominum dirigendo*, directing the intention of this praiſe to the Lord; more fully *Theophylact*, with *underſtanding, attention, and an heart not rambling*. In ſumme, to comprehend all, The *melody of the heart* conſiſts in a ſweet concord and agreement of all thoſe inward rational powers, which are fit to be imployed in the divine praiſe. And therefore, diſtinctly, to make up a *full melody of the heart*, there is a threefold care to be taken, and no point thereof any ſollicitude to modulate the voice: for that is ſuppoſed to be habitually done by art and cuſtome, as by a ſecond nature; *Sect.* 7 Calvin. Lyra.

and to be, in a manner, as facil and ready as ſpeech: nor ſhould any ſinging, by grown and adult perſons, be admitted in the ſolemn Service of God, but what is performed by ſuch, to whom it is become thus natural.

The firſt point of care muſt be in *Attention* to what we ſing in the praiſe of God; I do not mean to the Notes, for this too many are too apt to; and content themſelves with, but unto the words and their import. I appeal to any mans conſcience and common reaſon; ſhould there be no difference between hearing an Anthem, and hearing an ordinary Song or Catch? to the later men attend onely for delight and divertiſement, and therefore principally heed the Muſick. To the other they do, or ought to, attend as to a ſacrifice of divine praiſe offered up to God, by their conſent, ſo as, thereby at leaſt, to join with the performers in the offering it up; and therefore men ought primarily to attend unto the ſenſe, to the end they may be ready in each part with ſuch their conſent; and onely ſecundarily, and by the by, to

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the Muſick, that thereby their ſouls being more inflamed or quickened, might with more fervour preſent their ſhare in the ſpiritual ſacrifice, which not onely God as Judge, but Angels as holily emulous attend unto.

A ſecond point, which ſhould exerciſe our care in ſinging is *Intention*, or real deſigning, deſiring and endeavouring to give to God that praiſe with our mind and full conſent, which our words import. *Pſalmis & Hymnis cum oratis Deum, hoc verſetur in corde quod profertur in ore*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*. It is certainly a fault in Holy-ſinging, for the mind not actually to conſent and combine with the Tongue, in each ſtrain and particular of the divine praiſe. This a man may do, ſay ſome great pretended Maſters in devotion, by conſenting to the Service and all Hymns, which the Church ſhall offer, before he comes to them. A general agreeing thereto ſuffices, and particular intention is not of the neceſſary eſſence of devotion. An excellent doctrine indeed, and ſuch it ſeems, as the preſent devotion of the Gentlemen of the *Romiſh* Church makes needful

Tom. 1. in regul. 3.

ful to be defended by their ableſt Patriots. I will but onely mind them what the Learned Cardinal of *Cajeta* ſaith upon the Text of their *Angelical Doctour*, *Aquinas* handling this Queſtion, or one very neerly the ſame, reſolves onely ſuch want of *Attention*, and conſequently of *Intention*, to be ſinful which is *ex propoſito*, from purpoſe or deſign. But ſaith the Comment hereon, *Author evagationem ex negligentia computat ſub evagatione ex propoſito, &c.* "The Au-"thour reckons (that is, underſtands to be reckoned) "all want of Atten-"tion (and ſo of intention) through "negligence, to be included under ſuch "want purpoſely and on deſign.—For "ſuch negligence being voluntary, "therefore alſo is the Non-attention "which ariſes thence voluntary alſo: "and therefore ſinful, and as bad as to "invite a Gueſt, and under a mans ve-"ry own roof vilely to intreat him. According to the doctrine then of this great man, if through negligence intention be wanting, there muſt be ſin in ſuch devotions; and much more, if through deſign. Now whether amongſt them

2da. 2dæ. q. 83. a. 13.

them, a distinct and actual attention and intention be not both wanting through design, and that too through the design of their Church, when all their solemn and publick Services, being by their Church contrived into a form unintelligible by the common people, are onely so officiated by their Priests, let them answer. We may expect they will acquit themselves, when they can make out, that a man ordinarily may actually and distinctly attend and intend such sense, of which he has not knowledge. But let the *Romists* pass: if there be any amongst our selves who think such intention, as I speak of, is not necessary to make up the *melody of the heart*, I will onely desire such to consider the following case. Whether, if I were to pay any solemn Homage, together with thanks for some peculiar acts of grace, to my Prince, and I should, before such address made, intend so to do, and generally consent to the form of address; but when it were to be offered, though I came my self into the Presence to join in the tender, I should negligently withdraw my self from having

ving any hand in the actual tender, and employ my self aside in little idle divertisements with other things or persons, whether I say this demeanour would be accepted, or rather not construed as a contempt? Might I seem hereby to have paid my fealty, with all good affection and humble duty? No man can enforce himself to think so. Now of the same nature must that mans devotion be, who onely consents that certain praise shall be offered up to God, & by outward joining therein, as it were, puts himself into the Presence-chamber of Gods Majesty, but then neglects God, & concurs not to the address by any constant actual intention. Onely the mockery is so much more solemn, by how much God is the greater Soveraign. Let it therefore stand, that whosoever would sing in a manner pleasing and harmonious to God, must not onely, at the first access, bring into his presence a general intention of offering praise, or paying worship to him, but also, throughout attending (as before said) to the sense and substance of what is offered, maintain all along a continued

nued conſent, and diſtinct actual intention, as to the ſeveral particulars and members of ſuch addreſſes, as ſhall be preſented to his Majeſty: and whereſoever this attention and diſtinct intention fails, there is a kind of *chaſme* in the *melody of the heart.*

Laſtly, (what is but a further explication or carrying on of ſuch diſtinct intention as above directed) to the end *every part* of this *inward melody* may be *full*, it is requiſite that the *Affections* be in ſome meaſure engaged (at leaſt as they may be ſuppoſed rational powers) that the mind be imployed in the acting and exerciſe of ſuch Chriſtian graces as become him, who would offer praiſe. Eſpecially, amongſt others (1.) In the exerciſe of Humility, or a deep ſenſe not onely of our own undeſervingneſs, but of our evil deſervings at Gods hands, and together of his infinite perfection, goodneſs, grace or free bounty. The Holy *Seraphims* when they ſung their *Sanctus* (*Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hoſts; the whole earth is full of his glory.*) with *two wings* Isa. VI. 2, 3. *covered their face*; and with other *two*

their feet, and flew onely with the remaining pair. Humility was their most active grace, even in the divine praise. And surely this ought to make many of us ashamed, if not of our confidence in singing, yet of somewhat else therein. The like exercise ought there to be of the mind (2.) In divine love, and admiration of him, whom we praise. For though all his acts are wonderful, yet his goodness to mankind has outdone all that ever else he did, I had almost said, all he can do. In redeeming us, as he has done, he has most transcendently got to himself the *name, Wonderful.* And (3.) in gratitude, or an holy Zeal and study to express before men and Angels (seeing we are not able to make any appearance of recompence) how much we owe, and ever must owe to the God of our praise. And, which is a consequent hereof (4.) in Heavenly-mindedness, or earnest desire to be in such an estate, wherein indefinently we shall do nothing but praise him, and praise him better than now we do or can. And, Lastly, for a close fit to such a symphony, in love and good will

Isa. IX. 6.

will towards mankind. For this we find to have made up two ſtraines of three in the Angelical Hymn: After *Glory be to God*, comes *On Earth peace, & good will towards men.* Thoſe bleſſed ſpirits ſo expreſt their praiſes, as at once not onely to publiſh to thoſe of mankind who heard them, that God was now *reconciling the world to himſelf in Chriſt Jeſus*, but alſo, by the very form of ſpeech, to ſignifie their deſire that it ſhould be ſo, and their rejoycing that it was ſo. Now that ſuch ſweet combination of Chriſtian graces and good affections, is requiſite to the making up the *melody of the heart*, there needs no other proof but the comparing St. *Paul's* words in his two Epiſtles: what to the *Epheſians*, he terms *ſinging and making melody in your heart to the Lord*, to the *Coloſſians* he ſtyles *ſinging with grace in your hearts to the Lord.* Theſe therefore muſt be the ſame, and one onely an explication of the other.

Having taken this particular view of the *inward manner* of *ſinging*, called by the Apoſtle, *melody in the heart*, for- *Sect.* 8.

asmuch, as it is too often greatly neglected, not onely by our Quire men, but by many others of the Congregation, I could not think I did my duty, if I passed this subject without a serious and passionate monition to all of our Communion, that as they love God, our Church, themselves, or Heaven, they would principally attend, and be most zealous for, and in, this point of their duty. We have seen this to be the end of all other melody, this to be designed in all and every of the Apostolical Rules for singing. It is to no purpose to sing with art or skill, in decent matter and manner of composure, in order, nay nor with understanding neither, if there be not such attention, such particular intention, and in some measure, such good affection, as described. Whatever there is in the outward practice or rules, is but a mean to this temper: nay, the very understanding it self is but subservient hereto. The understanding is indeed the leading power of the rational soul, the guide of the will in all its choice, by which choice every man is either blessed or miserable:

ble: and it is therefore neceſſary, that we actually underſtand what we ſing in the divine praiſe, that by contemplation and commemoration of thoſe perfections and benefits, the glory of which we give to God, our will and all our ſoul may be more paſſionately drawn, and more intimately adhere and cleave to him by divine love, delight and complacency. We are to remember, that the great Worſhip which God now requires of us, as more peculiar to the Evangelical ſtate, is a *Worſhip in ſpirit and in truth. Such the Father ſeeketh to worſhip him*, and indeed all others his ſoul abhors, and is weary of. Firſt, we are to worſhip him, by giving up our ſelves to him. This is worſhipping him in ſpirit, when the *ſoul* is devoted, and really *conſecrate* to him. Then in every act of Worſhip, the ſoul is really to direct its intention to him, and thereby to draw near to him, and this is worſhipping him in truth. Whatever comes ſhort of this, is but pageantry, and a more gay affront of God, any further than it conduces hereto. I therefore again moſt

Joh. IV. 22, 23.

earneſtly conjure all who have, or pretend to have, any zeal for our Church-ſervice, that they be careful in this matter. Alas! may it not daily be upbraided to many, according to the very literal truth, that they who officiate in the Divine Service, and the Service it ſelf ſo officiated, are to them *as a very Lovely ſong of one that has a pleaſant voice, and can play well on an inſtrument: for they hear their words, but they will not do them?* Or rather worſe, they *hear not*, or heed not the words, but liſten onely to the Muſick, and reſt therein? Now can we think but that this is moſt abominable in the Eyes of God? Nay, is it not ſo in the judgement of all ſerious men, and even of natural conſcience it ſelf? Beſides, what a diſturbance muſt holy indignation give to any good mans devotion, when he ſhall be diverted, and put beſides his attention of Worſhip, by beholding men, that pretend to be worſhipping of God, tyed faſt by the ears, ſtaring, gaping, anon ſmiling, whiſpering, buſie with every one neer them, unable to conceal the ſecret ti-

Ezek. xxxiiii 32.

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tillation with which their curiosity, in attending Musick while they neglect the matter, strikes and affects them. If this be singing with the spirit, with art and skill, I am sure it is not singing *in the spirit and in truth*: it would not become a formal Jew, much less a Christian; it cannot be accounted singing *unto God*, but to our own sensuality. Neither our Church, nor any of her genuine Sons, own, or can excuse such practice, as arguing not onely a gross neglect or ignorance of the true and substantial Worship of God in those persons who are guilty of it, but making them accessary to the perverting and hindering it in others, and in a word, bringing a reproach and infamy on our Communion and Worship.

Such incogitancy and wandring of thoughts, as common frailty, and the slipperiness and instability of the humane soul occasion, may find with God, through his mercy in Christ, an easie pardon, where these lapses are not indulged, but repented of, and striven against; and both the Worship, and the Worshippers, be nevertheless ac-

accepted. But what we have taxed, being of a far different nature, and amounting to little less than a total actual aversion of the soul from God, as to such particular Worship, can never pass for devotion or service of God: and being without excuse with man, will never before God find any acceptance, but, contrariwise, will surely add to the *treasure of wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.* And those whom the consideration hereof will not work to more serious temper and intention, the *Lord have mercy on:* but how they can expect mercy till they repent & reform, they must pardon me, if I tell them in good earnest, I do not see.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the *Primitive Practice* in singing, and the Progress of *Church-Musick*.

Sect. 1. Singing *a constant part of the Publick primitive Worship, and the first office amongst the Christians, which the Heathens took notice of.* Sect. 2. What *the Primitive Christians* sung. Sect. 3. *The* way of singing *in the Primitive and succeeding Church, for a considerable time, very* plain. Sect. 4. *Christians of all conditions used to sing, both privately, and in the publick Congregations.* Sect. 5. *Of the introducing* more artificial *Musick into the Church-use.* Sect. 6. *Of introducing* instrumental *Musick into the same.* Sect. 7. *Of the Churches which have received it, or declared their approbation and desire of it.* Sect. 8. *A recollection and summe of the whole.*

IT follows now that we proceed to the third enquiry, What has, since *Sect.* 1.

the inſpired days, been the practice of the Church; and that we view here particularly, how Church-Muſick has advanced in ſeveral Ages.

Some learned men have, and it would ſeem not unfitly, made a diſtinction betwixt *Eccleſia Prima*, and *Eccleſia Primitiva*, betwixt the Firſt Church, and the Primitive Church. Let it be ſo; notwithſtanding I am ſure even in the very *firſt* Chriſtian Church, ſinging praiſe unto God, was a conſtant part of their divine Worſhip at all their ſolemn Aſſemblies. This indeed we have ſeen already proved. *When you come together, every one of you hath a Pſalm, hath a Doctrine, &c.* Singing to God was no leſs frequent, than Praying or Preaching. And this we have ſeen to have been one reaſon of the effuſion of thoſe miraculous gifts, particularly of the Gift of *ſinging*, inſiſted on in the foregoing Chapter, that the Church might not in its very beginning, be either deſtitute of Hymns proper to the Evangelical ſtate, or under any incapacity of ready providing ſuch. And, if we look into days ſomewhat earlier than that

that critical age of the *Corinthian* Church now mentioned, we ſhall not find our ſelves at any loſs for evidences of this practice. *Acts II.* 46, 47. *They continued daily with one accord in the Temple, breaking bread,* &c.,— *Praiſing God, and having favour* (or charity) *with all people.* Nor was this their Publick and more ſolemn, but even their Private practice alſo. In the very Priſon, and at Midnight too, Paul *and* Silas *prayed, and ſung praiſes unto God, and the priſoners heard them.* And this practice was ſo univerſal, that many learned men have thought the Chriſtian Church from the very beginning, to have taken up the cuſtome of the Jewes in ſinging *Davids* Pſalms. And amongſt the reſt, even Mr. *Calvin* himſelf profeſſes this to be his judgment. *Nec verò, mihi dubium eſt, quin ritum* Judaicæ *Eccleſiæ ſtatim ab initio in Pſalmis fuerint imitati.* "I do not, ſaith he, "at all doubt, "but preſently from the very begin- "ning, they followed the Jewiſh uſe "in ſinging Pſalms.

See too *Luk.* laſt. 53.

Acts XVI. 25.

In com. ad 1 Cor. XIV.

When the Church began now to diſperſe it ſelf wider into the Heathen Em-

pire, it is very certain, that the first publick Office, which the Heathens could generally take notice of in the Christian Assemblies, was their singing. This the scoffer *Lucian*, or whosoever was the Author of that Dialogue (if it were none of his) gives us to understand, while he designs it as a reproach to the Christians, that they did ἄσιτοι διαμένειν, ἐπὶ παννύχοις ὕμνοις ἐπεγείροντες "*Fast long, spending whole nights* "*in watching & singing hymns.* Such was the practice of the *Roman* Christians then: And as to the Eastern, in the same age, *Pliny* Proconsul amongst them, being to give an account to his Lord & Soveraign *Trajan* the Emperour, what the *Christian superstition*, as they called it, was, humbly signifies as much to him. *Hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ vel erroris* [*Christianorum*] *quòd essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem; seque Sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursus*

Tom. 2. Philopatr.

Lib. X. Ep. 97. de Christian.

ſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen & innoxium. "This, ſaith he, "I found to be the ſumme ei-"ther of their fault or errour, that on "a ſet day they are wont to meet to-"gether before day, and to ſing a-"mongſt themſelves a certain Hymn to "Chriſt, as to a God, & to bind them-"ſelves by a Sacrament not to any "wickedneſs, but that they commit "not theſts, nor robberies, nor adul-"teries; that they break not their pro-"miſe, that they deny not the pledge "when demanded. Which being done, "they uſe to depart, and then meet "again to take meat, but in common "and innocently. In this account gi-ven by Heathens to Heathens, we have evident footſteps of three practi-ces, obſerved uſual in the Primitive-Chriſtian Aſſemblies. The firſt, of ſinging Hymns in common; for though it be here *carmen Chriſto dicere* (to ſay an Hymn to Chriſt) yet we ſee the Scripture to have uſed the term ſinging; and in *Tertullian*, where we have men-tion of the ſame practice, the words are, *cœtus antelucanos ad canendum Chri-*

Apolo-get. c2.

ſto ac Deo: "They held meetings be-
"fore day, to ſing to Chriſt and God,
(or Chriſt as God). The ſecond, of
celebrating the Communion; And the
third, of their Love-feaſts: but theſe
more darkly expreſt, and they are not
at preſent to our purpoſe. In two pla-
ces more of *Tertullian*, do I remember
the like practice ſet down, *Apologetic.
cap.*39. And again in his Book *De Anim.
cap.* 9. *Scripturæ loquuntur, Pſalmi can-
tantur, Adlocutiones proferuntur, Pe-
titiones delegantur:* "The Scriptures,
ſaith he, "are read, Pſalms are ſung,
"Exhortations or Sermons made, and
"Prayers ſent up. The like account
too have we in *Juſtin Martyrs* ſecond
Apology: onely I have not obſerved
the word *ſinging* (ψάλλειν or ᾄδειν) there,
but in ſtead thereof ἄνον ἀναπέμπειν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν
ὅλων, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπειν
"ſending up praiſe and glory to the
"Father of all, through the name of
"his Son, and the Holy Spirit; and
Εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος
πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ. "The Biſhop giving thanks,
"and all the people anſwering in ſome
"benedictory or approbatory Form,

at

at leaſt by their *Amen*. Yet in his Epiſtle, touching a Chriſtian life, I find ὕμνες τε καὶ ψαλμὸς, καὶ ᾠδὰς, καὶ αἶνον ῥητέον. "We "are to offer up Hymns, and Pſalms, "and Songs, and Praiſe. I eſteem it needleſs to add more teſtimonies in ſo plain a caſe. *Ad* Zen: & Seren.

Supposing it therefore abundantly evident by theſe paſſages, as well out of ſome of our ancienteſt Chriſtian writers, as from Heathens, that the Chriſtian Church, both *Firſt* and *Primitive*, conſtantly uſed ſinging to God and Chriſt in their ſolemn Aſſemblies, for the fuller and clearer comprehenſion of their whole practice, it will be requiſite to enquire *What they ſung*. And touching this point, there are three concluſions which may be laid down, and which I conceive may prove ſatisfactory. *Sect.* 2.

Firſt, Thoſe who were indued with the ſpiritual Gift before-deſcribed, did undoubtedly in publick exerciſe the ſame, and that as well by inditing anew Hymns to God and Chriſt by virtue thereof, as by ſinging the Hymns ſo indited. The *firſt* Church then ſung many

many times new inſpired Hymns, peculiar to that their ſtate: and hereof no one can doubt, who has conſidered the purport of the foregoing Chapter.

Secondly, We cannot well preſume, but that ſome paſſages of theſe inſpired Hymns were preſerved, if not in ſome early-written Records (though not now extant) yet in the memories of ſuch, who (like *Janus*) ſaw both backward and forward, ſomething of the inſpired, and ſomething of the more ordinary age of the Church. The reaſonableneſs of this conjecture or ſuppoſeal, will be concluded from what I have ſpoken in the firſt diſcourſe, in the beginning of the fourth Chapter. Now this being admitted, it may be ſaid, that in the Primitive Church there were ſeveral Chriſtian Hymns compoſed by the Biſhops of the earlieſt age, after the ceſſation of the miraculous Gifts, partly out of ſuch paſſages as were remembred to have been uſed by inſpired men, and partly of ſuch additaments, as they according to their Chriſtian diſcretion thought fit to make thereto, proper to their then preſent ſtate. Hereof though very

ry little be come to us, yet that ſome of the Euchariſtical part in the Office of the Communion may be of this Origin, I have above proved in the place juſt now named. And the ſame may I conclude touching that Doxology, ſo uſual in our Liturgy (*Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.*) for in the ſame Dialogue, we now mentioned, it is plainly upbraided to the Chriſtians of that time (*viz.* of *Trajan*'s age) that they did, τῷ Θεῷ ἀπὸ τῦ πατρὸς ἀρξαμένοις, τῷ πολυύμνοις ὕμνοις ἐπιθεῖναι. "beginning with the Prayer *Our Father*, add to it an Hymn with many "names in it; which cannot reaſonably be underſtood of any Hymn elſe, there being none other, which comes under this character, that can pretend to be in any meaſure of ſuch antiquity. Lucian. Philop.

However, Thirdly, that there were two ſorts of Hymns uſually ſung in the Primitive Church, is clear out of *Tertullian*. His words are, *Ut quiſque de Scriptura ſacra, vel de proprio ingenio poteſt, provocatur in medium Deo canere:* "Sometimes "we ſing paſſages out of the Holy Scri- "pture, ſometimes Hymns of humane Apolog. c. 39.

" poſure. And as to the later of theſe; thoſe Hymns, ſometimes were ſuch as had been received, and for ſome ſpace uſed in the Church, ſometimes of newer date. This, the very words of *Tertullian* now cited, *De proprio ingenio*, and that paſſage formerly alledged on another occaſion, touching *Paulus Samoſatenus*, " that he took away the " Pſalms and Hymns, which had been " uſed to be ſung in the Church to the " praiſe of God and Chriſt, pretending " them to be new, and compoſed by " men of later times, abundantly prove. But it is evident, the Hymns thus rejected by *Paulus*, were neither new, for that *decantari ſolebant*, they were uſed to be ſung (& this was about the middle of the 3d. century) nor that there was any culpable matter contained in them, for the Council cenſured *Paulus*, and reſtored them. So that we may without doubt conclude, the Primitive Church ſung Hymns which were neither meer Scripture, nor otherwiſe of divine inſpiration.

One thing onely is to be added here, that though there were certainly in thoſe

those dayes diverse Hymns sung, which were composed by more private spirits, yet none generally were of publick use, till they had at least passed the approbation of the Bishops of those Churches, where they were used. This is in part proved already, and will hereafter come under further consideration.

Now as to the Primitive manner of *singing* all Hymns, it is certain it was very plain. Thus much is suggested by that passage above mentioned out of *Pliny*, where the Christians singing is called *Carmen dicere*, the saying an Hymn to Christ: and it is both generally agreed, and considering the condition of the Christian Church, it could not be otherwise. For what of state, or Musical graces, could be expected, while in stead of their harps, they were to bear their cross? while *they wandred up and down in sheep skins*, and in *goat-skins*, *being destitute*, *afflicted and tormented*; while deserts were their cities, and caves their Oratories, and Midnight one great canonical hour. And yet I must confess indeed, the plain way of singing, seems not to have been onely *Sect.* 3.

mat-

matter of neceſſity to them, but of choice alſo. Thus Saint *Auguſtine* hath recorded his information. *De Alexandrino Epiſcopo, Athanaſio, ſæpe mihi dictum commemini, quod tam modico flexu vocis faciebat ſonare lectorem Pſalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior eſſet quam canenti*: "He had been often "told, that *Athanaſius* made the Pſal- "miſts to uſe ſo ſmall modulation of "their voice, that they ſeemed rather "to pronounce diſtinctly, than to ſing. (And ſo, to this day, are the Pſalms commonly chanted amongſt us) The ſame ſaith *Rabanus Maurus* more at large, concluding that the *Pſalmiſts voice* ſhould be ſuch (*non quæ Tragicam exclamat artem, ſed quæ Chriſtianam ſimplicitatem in ipſa modulatione demonſtrat*, &c.) "which is not ſo much accommodated to "ſtate and pomp, as expreſſing Chri- "ſtian ſimplicity in its very tuneing; "and rather creating compunction in "the Hearers, than ſavouring too much "of art and curioſity; though he alſo acknowledge the *ſecret efficacy* of *muſick* to affect the mind, and the *reaſonableneſs* of practiſing ſomewhat of *art*, as

Confeſ. lib. 10. c. 33.

De inſtit. Cler. l. 2: c. 48, 49.

as we ſhall hereafter note: but poſſibly men are very prone in theſe caſes to overdoing. However that Author is much neerer the Apoſtolick age, than either of theſe mentioned, who cenſures more ſeverely. Καταλειπτέον ἔν τε τὰς Χρωματικὰς ἁρμονίας ταῖς ἀχρήστοις παρῳδίαις, καὶ τῇ ἀνδροπρεπεῖ καὶ Ἑταιρικῇ μελικῇ. Thus *Clement* of *Alexandria*: And yet ſome now adays are ſcarce content with the *Chromatick* ſcale (though poſſibly the Father underſtood onely *figurate* compoſitions in general) but ſearch after all the niceties of the whole three, & mix all together for Church-uſe. I pray God it be with good ſucceſs. Pædag. lib. 2. c. 4.

Sect. 4. The Primitive ſinging being thus plain (all undoubtedly in one time and tone) there were no ſort, ſex or age, but what in ſome meaſure did or could join therein, either in private, or publick, or bothwiſe. And hereof we have great plenty of evidence. Firſt, as to private ſinging; that paſſage of the laſt-mentioned Father is very memorable. Ὡς δὲ ἁρμοδιον, περὶ ἡμᾶς, &c. "Accor-"ding (ſaith he) as before we take our "meat, it is fit we praiſe the Creatour "of all; ſo alſo doth it become us, when Ibid.

we

"we drink, to ſing to him, being "made partakers of his good creatures, "— Laſtly, before ſleep ſeizes us, it is "right pious and holy to give thanks to "God, as having partaken of his boun- "ty and favour, and ſo divinely to go "to ſleep. And this practice the Fa- ther draws, as naturally enough he may, from that paſſage of St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* X. 31. *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God*, &c. Again, *Tertullian* about the ſame time ſpeaks of the Husbands ſing- ing to the Wife, and the Wifes to the Husband, and this even at meals. And St. *Cyprian* to the ſame purpoſe. *Nec ſit vel hora convivii gratiæ cæleſtis immu- nis: ſonet Pſalmos convivium ſobrium; & ut tibi tenax eſt memoria, voce cano- ra aggredere hoc munus ex more, &c.* "Neither let, ſaith he, the hour of "meal be without ſome Heavenly exer- "ciſe. Let thy ſober table ſound of "Pſalms, & as thou haſt a good memo- "ry, in common cuſtome ſet upon this "Work with a clear voice. Thou wilt by "this means better feed thy deareſt re- "lations, &c. But moſt fully of all St.

Ad uxor. l: 2: c: 6.

Ad Donat.

Hie-

Hierom in diverſe of his Epiſtles. *In Chriſti villulâ, &c.* "In Chriſtian Villages "(ſaith he) there is little to be heard but "Pſalms. Which way ſoever you turn "your ſelf, the Husbandman holding "his Plow, ſings *Halleluja:* The Mow- "er ſweating, refreſheth himſelf with "Pſalms; the Vine-dreſſer pruning his "Vines, ſings ſomething of *Davids.* Elſewhere he ſpeaks even of children, who being ſcarce able to ſpeak, could ſing *Halleluja*'s to Chriſt. *Parvulæ adhuc linguâ balbutiens Chriſti* Halleluja *reſonat:* And again, *Cum avum viderit, in pectus ejus tranſiliat, de collo pendeat, nolenti* Halleluja *decantet:* "When the "little child ſaw her Grandfather, ſhe "would leap into his arms, & hang about "his neck, and ſing an *Halleluja* to him, "whether he would or no. Theſe were the Songs of the Primitive dayes. *Hic paſtorum ſibilus, hæc arma culturæ.* Theſe were the ſhepherds layes, and the ploughmans whiſtlings. To conclude, as to this private practice, *Chryſoſtome* has a great part of an Homily, exhorting to the uſe of it upon all opportunities & occaſions

Ep: 17: ad Marcel.

Ep. 7: ad Læt.

Idem.

Hom. in Pſa: 41.

It will not now be admired, that the Pri-

Primitive Christians, being privately thus exercised, by the way, in the House, at their meals, at their labours, in the field, in the vineyard, and in a manner every where, all sorts should in those days be very ready to join in the praises of God at their publick Assemblies. Here, in their turn and season, they all struck in, so that the *Amen* almost equalled the thunder (*Ad similitudinem cœlestis tonitrui* Amen *reboat.*) Nor onely joind they in so short Responsals, but in *Davids* Psalms too.

Hiero: in præf. Ep: ad Gal.

Consona quem celebrant modulati carmina David,
Et responsuris ferit aera vocibus Amen.

Auson: Ephe: lib: 2.

Consonant to which practice of theirs, is the use of all our Parochial Churches, or may be, if the peoples devotion be not wanting; and in our Cathedral Churches, though in some particulars the Musick be softer and more delicate; yet from the chanting *Davids* Psalms, from the joining in the *Amen*, and other Responds, none commonly are pre-

precluded, and, for a regular performance thereof, any may be easily qualified.

Such being the universality of singing to God, in the first and in the Primitive Church, I cannot any otherwise interpret that passage of St. *Austins*, touching St. *Ambrose*'s setting up the Practice of Psalms and Hymns in the Church of *Millain*, in the time of the *Arrian* Persecution, raised against St. *Ambrose* and his people, by *Justina* Mother of *Valentinian*, than onely of his introducing a new way of singing. *Nimirum annus erat, &c.* saith the Father. "It was about a year, or not much "more (before his Baptism) when "*Justina* the Mother of young *Valenti*-"*nian* persecuted *Ambrose* the man of "God, for the sake of the Heresie, "whereto she had been seduced by the "*Arrians*. The people all devoutly lay "night and day in the Church, prepa-"red to dye with their Bishop. — Then "was it appointed that Psalmes and "Hymns should be sung *secundum mo-*"*rem Orientalium partium*, "after the "manner of the Eastern Church, lest

Sect 5.

Confes. l. 9. c. 7.

"the people ſhould ſink under the irk-
"ſomneſs of the affliction: And from
"that time to this day, has that pra-
"ctice been reteined, many and almoſt
"all congregations imitating through-
"out the other parts of the World.
That the *Eaſterlings* ſung before, the Father acknowledges: that the *Roman* Church, (within the Territories of which was *Millain*) ſung before, we have already proved: Whatſoever new practice therefore was at that time introduced, was not as to ſinging it ſelf, as if abſolutely then begun, as ſome have thought, but onely as to the manner of ſinging; St *Ambroſe* reduced their former uſe to a greaer conformity with the *Eaſtern*. Now how far the *Eaſtern* Church had at that time improved the way of ſinging, I am not able to ſpeak; for I can find but little recorded on the ſubject. That before this time, *Nepos* the *Ægyptian* (a perſon much exerciſed in the Scripture, and of great faith, godlineſs and induſtry) had compoſed ſeveral Hymns of his own, which many Chriſtian Churches uſed long after, *Euſebius* proves out of *Dionyſius*. That both

Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 7. c. 19.

both the form of compoſure, and the manner of ſinging of theſe Hymns, was more artificial and curious, than what had been the former uſe, is very probable, for that it is ſaid, *Many of the Brethren were greatly delighted therewith*; which ſeems to import ſomewhat more delicious in them, that might be the cauſe of ſuch delight, than was formerly uſuall. What time *Nepos* lived in, I can give no other account, but that the above-named *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* ſpeaks there of him as lately dead at that time, when he wrote thoſe things: now *Dionyſius* flouriſhed about the year 254, if we may believe *Bellarmin.* Elder than thoſe of *Nepos*'s were *Hierotheus* his Hymns, whom ſome talk high of, as being (*poſt Apoſtolos omnibus Doctoribus ſuperior*) the greateſt Doctor next the Apoſtles, and who lived, as 'tis ſaid, in the very Apoſtolick age, and was preſent with St. *Peter*, and St. *James*, and other of the Apoſtles, at the Funeral of the Bleſſed *Virgin:* but of what nature theſe Hymns alſo were, & indeed, whether there were any ſuch Hymns or perſon, we muſt be

Dionyſ. Eccleſ. Hierar. & de divin. Nom. l. 1. c. 3.

content to be in the dark. To come to times wherein we have clearer Records: And to omit here the Hymns attributed to *Clement* of *Alexandria*, That Saint *Hilary* compoſed a Book of Hymns, about the middle of the Fourth century, we are certain, from St. *Hierom*; as alſo that theſe were in ſtrict Poetical Form, for ſuch is that *Beata nobis gaudia*, extant in the *Romiſh* Breviaries, and reckoned to be his. That alſo St. *Ambroſe* imitating him, compoſed Hymns ſtrictly verſe, we are aſſured by St. *Auſtin*, who repeats ſeveral Verſes of one of them, & of others, more anon. That this Fathers Hymns were ſung in the Church of *Milan* in his own age, is evident from his own Works: and that beſides this more artificial form of compoſing Hymns, he introduced more artificial notes and modulation, to what before uſed more plainly to be ſung, is beyond queſtion manifeſt out of S. *Auſtin*, who, having acknowledged himſelf, before his converſion, much given to the pleaſures of hearing, but that God had now diſintangled him from thoſe ſnares, adds,

Hiero. de ſcriptor. Eccleſ.

Gavan. in Rubr. Brevia. Conſect. 3. 9. c. 12.

Ambroſ. in Anx. cut.

Nunc

Nunc in ſonis, quos animant eloquia tua, cum ſuavi & artificioſa voce cantantur, fateor aliquantulum acquieſco: non quidem ut hæream, ſed ut ſurgam cum volo. Conſeſ. lib. 10. c. 33.

"Now (ſaith he) in ſuch ſounds as "thy Oracles inſpirit, when they are "ſung with a ſweet and artificial voice, "I have ſome complacency: not ſo in- "deed as to ſtick therein, but to riſe "[in my affections thereby] when I will. And a little after, having ſuſpected himſelf to have been guilty of too much attention to, and affection from, the *ſinging*, rather than the thing *ſung*, he complains himſelf ſometimes to be in his thoughts drawn into too much ſeverity againſt ſo curious melody. *Aliquando autem hanc ipſam fallaciam moderatius cavens, erro nimia ſeveritate. Sed valdè interdum; ut melos*, &c. "Sometimes, ſaith "he, being too anxiouſly cautious "againſt any fallaciouſneſs of this ſenſi- "ble delight, I err by too great ſeve- "rity: And very much indeed in ſome "inſtances; for that I could even wiſh "that all the melody of thoſe ſweet "tunes, in which *David*'s Pſalms are "daily ſung, were removed from my

"ears, and the ears of the Church. "And it ſeems ſafer to me, what I re- "member often to have been told me "of *Athanaſius* the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, "who made the Pſalmiſts chant the "Pſalms with ſo ſmall change of voice, "that it might rather ſeem pronoun- "cing, than ſinging (the paſſage even now cited).

From this place it appears, that at leaſt in the Church of *Millain*, St. *Ambroſe* introduced more melodious and artificial ſinging, than was the *Alexandrian* or former uſe. Now that other Churches ſoon took up the practice, that paſſage of *St. Auſtin*, above cited, proves. *Ex illo* [*tempore*] *in hodiernum retentum eſt, multis jam, ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis, & per cæteras* [*partes*] *orbis imitantibus* More curious ſinging obtained almoſt in all Churches, even in the very ſelf ſame age that it was firſt introduced at *Millain:* ſo great was the authority, or ſucceſs, of the *Ambroſian* precedent.

Confeſ: l. 9. c. 7.

It remains onely here to ſhew (becauſe St. *Auſtin* in the fore-repeated place, ſeems at firſt a little to waver in his

his judgment, touching the expediency of this practice) what was his last resolution, upon full thought and consideration, in the case: and that he himself fully sets down in the same place. How far he doubted, we have already said in his own words: After which he immediately proceeds, resolving thus. *Veruntamen cum reminiscor lachrymas quas fudi ad cantus Ecclesiæ tuæ, in primordiis recuperatæ fidei*, &c. "Notwithstanding, saith he, when I remember the tears, which I shed at the singing of thy Church in the beginning of the recovery of my faith, and that even now being affected at the same, I am moved, not so much with the bare singing it self, as with the things which are sung, they being sung in a clear voice, and with the meetest melody, I again acknowledge the great profitableness of this institution. Thus I fluctuate betwixt the danger of sensible pleasure, and the sense of wholesome advantage: but I am rather induced (not so indeed as to pass an irrevocable sentence) to approve the custome

Confes: lib. 10: c: 3.

"ſtome of ſuch ſinging in the Church;
"to the end, that by this delectation
"of the ears, weaker minds may riſe
"up to holy affections. Yet when it
"ſo happens, that the ſinging moves
"me more, than the thing which is
"ſung, I confeſs my ſelf ſo far to ſin,
"as that I deſerve puniſhment: and in
"this caſe, it were better not to hear
"ſinging. The reſult is (exactly proportionable to what we have above determined) *ſinging* is *wholeſome*, to be approved, deſired and commended, as far as it is an *help* to devotion: but if through too much *curioſity* it *prejudice* diſtinct *underſtanding*, and directing the *intention* of the mind towards God, a plainer courſe were better.

After St. *Ambroſe*, many of the Fathers, as well *Greek* as *Latine*, compoſed very artificial, lofty and admirable Hymns, many in regular verſe, ſome rather in the *Dithyrambick* way, & ſome fewer in a kind of Proſe, cut out into ſhort and inciſe clauſes. That ſeveral of theſe were, even in the days when they were compoſed, ſung in publick, cannot well be queſtioned; And it

muſt be confeſt of that Seraphical Hymn (whether of St. *Ambroſe* ſingly, or S. *Ambroſe* & S. *Auſtin* jointly, cannot, it may be, be determin'd) called the *Te Deum*. The *Romaniſts* in their common daily Offices, & in their more ſolemn extraordinary Proceſſions, pretend to retain many of them ſtill: one of St. *Hilary*'s, thirty ſeven or more of St. *Ambroſe*'s, eight of St. *Gregorie*s, two of St. *Bernard*s, & more of others: though if thoſe be of ſuch Original, their Holy Fathers the Popes have altered ſomewhat more in them than falſe quantities. But to let them paſs: Thoſe Hymns, being writ in ſtrict meaſures, muſt needs have ſome melodies more proportionate and peculiar to them, than a plain pronunciation: ſo that conſequently, the Church-ſinging in theſe Ages, muſt gradually have advanced to more of art.

Gavan. in Rubr: Breviar. Sect. 5. c. 6.

What date the particular gradations, by which it roſe to its preſent perfections are to bear, I am not able to give account. The ancient *Grecians*, *Ariſtoxenus*, *Euclid*, *&c.* whoſe Muſical works we have ſtill extant, had indeed, *I* know, highly improved Muſick long before

this time: The Diatonick, Chromatick and Enharmonick ſcales, were diſtinctly all ſtated; but *I* do not believe the Fathers, or the Chriſtian people, to have been much acquainted with theſe curioſities. *It* is generally agreed, that, of all Church-ſinging, that uſed by the Eaſtern Church, was the ſweeteſt and moſt modulate (St. *Ambroſe*, as we have ſeen, took thence his pattern) and the cauſe and Original hereof we can well judge no other, than the remains of that Art introduced by *David* into the Church-uſe, in the flouriſhing ſtate of the *Jewes*: which art, though it had been much broken by the calamities of the *Jewiſh* Church, yet we cannot conceive, but ſome ſcatterd parts thereof were propagated from fathers to children, and ſo continued down to the times of Chriſtianity; for that even the very preſent *Jewes* pretend to ſomewhat of ſuch a Tradition. This being allowed to be the Original of whatever artificial ſinging came into the *Primitive* Church, and withall it being admitted, what has been before proved, that the Chriſtian ſinging in the *Firſt* Church

Church, and for ſome conſiderable time, was moſt plain, let us ſee by what degrees art prevailed. The firſt ſtep thereto, which *I* find on record, is the fifteenth Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*. Μὴ δεῖν, πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἑτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. "That "none ſhould ſing in the Church, but "the Canonical ſingers, which went "up into the Deſk, and read out of "the Church-book. The occaſion of this Canon, undoubtedly was, ſome confuſion ariſing from the ſinging of the promiſcuous multitude, together with the Canonical ſingers; the one ſinging by art, or at leaſt aiming at ſomewhat of art, and the other in a more plain, but haply a little clamorous way. Yet ſtill for the particular ſenſe of this Canon, and the practice enſuing thereon, we ſhall find our ſelves ſomething at a loſs. *Zonaras* thus comments on it, Εὐταξίαν βούλονται &c. "The "Fathers of the Synod would have "modeſty and good order to be kept "in the Church. Wherefore they do "not ſay, that every one may ſing in

"the Church that will, but onely the "Canonical ſingers; thoſe namely of "the Clergy, who are ordained and "appointed thereto, and who ſing out "of the Church-book, (Διφθέρας) That "they call διφθέρας, which St *Paul* called "the Parchments.—for the word ſigni-"fies skins, of which Parchment is made; "and it is plain, the Fathers here call "the Church-books διφθέρας. And one would think, that the Commentatour had fully hit the ſenſe of the Text: But hear what *Balſamon* a great Canoniſt, and no leſs than Patriarch of *Antioch*, ſaith on the ſame; Τὸ συμψάλλειν ἢ λεῖχες ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ὁ κανὼν λύει. *The Laity were not forbidden to ſing together with the Quire*; but with this Proviſo, as both his foregoing and following words enforce, that they did *ſequi* not *ducere*: They might follow and take their parts, either alternately, or in cloſes modeſtly, as the uſe was. And this will well enough accord with what we have ſaid in the foregoing Section; and is further proved, by that paſſage of Saint *Chryſoſtom*, recording the uſe in his dayes, which were conſiderably later

2 Tim. IV. 13.

ter than this Council. ὁ ψάλλων ψάλλει μόνος, κἂν πάντες ὑπηχῶσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεται *The ſinger ſingeth alone, & though all ſtrike in, and ſing ſoftly after him, or take the cloſes, yet the voice comes as from one mouth.* In 1. ad Cor: Hom: 36. But what then is the diſtinct ſenſe of the Canon, or the reſtraint thereby laid on the People? It is this, ſaith *Balſamon:* Many of the *common Laity* took upon them the parts of the Clergy, and not onely begun the Pſalms, but ſung too ἀλλότια παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα, other things than were writ in the Church-books (not therefore allowed) "Theſe things, ſaith he, the "Fathers forbidding, ordain that none "but the Clerks, which go up into "the Desk or ſtalls, ſhould (κατάρχεσθαι) "begin the divine Hymns—nor ſing any "thing beſides what was writ in the "Church-books. So that according to this Authour, the Canon provides not onely againſt a rude, irregular manner of ſinging, but alſo againſt introducing unallowed Hymns: and as to the later chiefly, if his comment give its true ſenſe. However, that hereby a more orderly courſe of ſinging was deſigned, In Notis ad Can 15 Laod.

cannot be denied, there being another Canon of this Council (namely, the last but one) which is directly intended against singing strange & uncanonical Psalms or hymns; & we may not think the Fathers in the *LIX.* Canon did forget the *XV*, and meerly tautologize. This therefore we may take to have been one step towards more regular and artificial singing.

Having now heard of *Canonical* singers, it will be expedient to consider, what kind of persons these were, and how they were made so; for that this possibly may give us some further light into the point in hand. Whereas therefore *Zonaras* plainly calls them ordained persons, and both he and *Balsamon* reckon them as being of the Clergy, it would seem, that some of the meaner of the Clergy were in those dayes particularly appointed to this Office: but we must know, it is not necessary, that they be ordained persons, or properly of the Clergy, who shall be reckoned Canonical singers. Amongst all the Orders of the *Romish* Church, the *Singer* or Psalmist is none: And it is, saith

Sus-

Suarez, the constant doctrine of all our Divines, that the Psalmist properly is no Clerk; yea, a Priests choosing and appointing him to that Office, suffices to his constitution. And if it be so with them now, much more was it so in these plainer and more simple ages. It is therefore observable, that the Canon gives them not that style: so that I conceive the Canonists to have called them Clerks, onely at large, or in an improper sense, and in favour of them; and that in the same acceptation (proportionably) *Zonaras* his τεταγμένοι and χειροτονηθέντες may be interpretable onely of their being appointed to this Office, having been approved and found able for performance therein. But I am not concerned to justifie in strictness every *Glossators* terms: Let the Psalmists, or Singers, be ordained persons for that time, and in those Churches, or not; it is certain, in the *Western* Church, and since, they have not necessarily been so: though I could wish in our Church they were; provided all were fit for that Holy state, and their education had accomplisht them (as it might have

De Relig. Tom. 2. l. 4. c. 9.

have been ordered, and in ſome Cathedrals is) in more liberal arts, than one. To the point in hand: From about this time, the name *Singers*, as noting a particular Office, becomes frequent in our Eccleſiaſtical Writers: Now except we will make theſe *Canonical ſingers* no more than plain *Readers* (as truly to me ſeems unreaſonable we ſhould, ſeeing that *Scripturas legere & Pſalmos canere*, were different parts of the publick Service, even in *Tertullian's* dayes) we muſt then admit them to have been perſons, who had more of dexterity and art in ſinging, than the common ſort, either of the Clergy or People. And this not being to be had without mens addicting themſelves thereto, and ſomething of exerciſe and inſtitution, we muſt conclude, that in the end of the third, and ſo more in the fourth century, ſome kind of artificial ſinging grew in requeſt, and was both ſtudied and practiſed: and that ſuch Chriſtian perſons who were best Proficients therein, and could with moſt readineſs, gravity, grace and clearneſs (*Præcinere* and *præire verba* ſin

ſing the Pſalms and Canonical Hymns before the people, and ſet all in, were appointed peculiarly to this Office; to the end, that the people might take, as out of their mouths, and after them, what they were to ſing, and withall might be kept in ſome tolerable content and harmony. And this, if we do not admit, conſidering the Chriſtian commonalty could not have all the Pſalms and Canonical Hymns without book, conſidering alſo they were not then generally book-learned, and had not that plenty or frequency of books and copies, which we have, for them to ſing thereout, it cannot be conceived how the whole Aſſembly ſhould vocally join in ſuch publick Offices, which yet it is evident, and in a manner generally agreed, they did.

But whatſoever I have ſaid touching any Eſſayes of more artificial Muſick appearing in this age, I would have ſo underſtood, as that all their art was moſt plain, ſuitable to that the ſtate of the Church. We are aſſured by the Authour of the *Anſwers* to the Orthodox in *Juſtin Martyr*'s Works (which Quæſt. 107.

though haply they be not his, were certainly written in the beginning of the third century at the fartheſt) that then Τὸ ἁπλῶς ᾄδειν ὑπολέλειπται, there was but *ſimply ſinging left*, and no uſe of any *inſtrumental Muſick* in the Church; for what then could be expected of that nature? And as to curioſity in Vocal Muſick, *Balſamon* ſpeaks not onely the practice, but, in his own ſenſe, the law of thoſe dayes, τῶν ψαλτῶν μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μελῳδήματα πάσῃ κινήσει. "The ſmall fine tu-
In Can. 15. Conc. Laod. "nings of the voice, and extravagant "modulations, were altogether forbid "the ſingers. And though I ſaid, St. *Ambroſe* took up a more artificial and melodious way of ſinging from the *Eaſterlings*, yet underſtand me how farre. That Excellently Learned Countrey-man of ours had ſearched more into all ſorts of Muſick and other Rarities, than ever I can hope for opportunity to do, who pronounced himſelf much deceived, *if the* Eaſtern *Muſick ever improved further than plain ſong.*
Mr. John Gregory Oxon.

Wherefore I muſt conclude the ſame, not onely touching the *Ambroſian* practice, but touching whatſoever ſinging

Ephrem

Ephrem Syrus, *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Chryſoſtome*, or any other of the Fathers of theſe ages, uſed with the Hymns and Antiphons which they compoſed, or with the Pſalms of *David*, which any of them introduced, in their dayes, into publick uſe in the Churches where they lived or preſided. This is the ſumme of what I can find to be ſaid, touching any Artificial Muſick brought into the Church, for three or four hundred years and upwards after Chriſt.

The next advance I can perceive ſong to have had in Church-uſe, falls into the end of the ſixth century. About that time flouriſhed *Gregory* the Great, a man, whom none of his ſucceſſours ever equalled, and very diligent in regulating and accompliſhing (as no doubt he thought) all the publick Offices of the Church. He ſtored his Church with Antiphons, and amongſt other things, wrote *Antiphonarium diurnum & nocturnum*; as I conceive, ſets of *Antiphons* for day and night: Then as to Muſick, the Tunes in which we commonly chant the Pſalms, if we

Platin. in Vit. Greg. I.

may believe Tradition, are moſt of them of his compoſure, and indeed the whole body of the old Plain-ſong in our Cathedral uſe. The *Centuriators* of *Magdeburg* report out of *Joannes Diaconus*, who writ his Life, that he ſet up a Singing-ſchool at *Rome*, and taught therein himſelf. But whoſo conſiders all Muſical Monuments of his left, which the *Romiſh* Quires pretend for the main to exhibit & follow, muſt ſtill acknowledge nothing of his above meer Plain ſong; *All Notes of the ſame meaſure and power.* Notwithſtanding, that both Hill in his dayes, and ſome time before, it was not otherwiſe, I cannot impute to want of Will, but of Skill: So mean was the progreſs moſt arts yet had made, ſo low their flight, in the Chriſtian World.

Cent. 6. cap. 7.

Muſices Choralis Medulla, ſive Cantus *Gregoriani* traditio. *Coloniæ.* 1670.

Sect 6. Of inſtrumental Muſick introduced into Church-uſe under Chriſtianity, we ſhall meet with nothing till the ſeventh century, and there is ſome queſtion whether then: And yet I do not think this, as hereafter *I* ſhall ſhew, any

ret-

reaſonable prejudice to our preſent practice in this kind. *I* know indeed that *Durantus*, and out of him *Suarez*, and ſome other Moderns, pretend much more antiquity for the Chriſtian uſe hereof. The onely authority, which *Durantus* produces for its elder date, is out of one *Julianus* on *Job*; & he ſays, if truly cited, Inſtruments were uſed in Churches before his time; but by whom, or where, he ſayes not, poſſibly among the *Jews*. And though *I* find one *Julianus* Archbiſhop of *Toledo* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, & ſome Notes of his to reconcile oppoſite places of Scripture, & particularly out of *Job*, yet no ſuch paſſage therein can *I* find; and if *I* did, *I* have reaſon enough to ſuſpect the validity of ſuch blind authority, there being ſo many teſtimonies of known integrity to the contrary. That ſeems much more plauſible, which is alledged touching *Vitalian*, of whom indeed *Platina* ſaies, *Cantum ordinavit, adhibitis ad conſonantiam, ut quidam volunt, Organis*, "He new-modelled ſinging, taking in, "as ſome ſay, Muſical inſtruments for "better filling up. *I* have tranſlated

De ritib. Eccleſ. Catholic. lib. 1. c. 13.

In Vit. Vital.

Organis Musical instruments: for so the word signifies in its old Ecclesiastical use. *Organa dicuntur instrumenta Musicorum*, saith St. *Austin* (if those Expositions be his) and he calls the Harp and the Psaltery *Organa*. *Organum vocabulum est generale omnium Vasorum Musicorum*, saith *Isidorus Hispal.* But to return. The same thing, it is true, is said of *Vitalian* by others. Now this *Vitalian* came into his See in the year 683. saith *Platina*: in the year 655. saith *Baronius* and *Bellarmine*, *I* think more rightly. But though, *Quidam volunt*, in *Platina's* language, some will have it, that *Vitalian* brought in Musical instruments into Church-use, *alii nolunt*, others and better authorities deny it. And particularly, that Text of *Aquinas* is unanswerable as to the matter of fact he speaks of, though the reason, which he gives, is to pass amongst his other errours, as shall hereafter be proved. *Instrumenta Musica, sicut Citharas & Psalteria, non assumit Ecclesia in divinas laudes, ne videatur Judaizare*: "The Christian Church "uses not Musical instruments, as

In Psal. 56. Orig. l. 2. c. 20.

2da. 2dæ. Q. 91. Art. 2.

Harps

"Harps or Pſalteries, in the Divine "praiſes, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to Judaize. As to Judaizing, he needed not have feared it; Muſical inſtruments being firſt brought into the Worſhip of God, not upon any Jewiſh ceremonial precept, but upon natural expediency and reaſon, and not without the ſecret inſtinct of God, as ſhall be made appear, God willing. But that then they uſed not Muſical inſtruments in the Church-ſervice, is as plainly ſaid by him, as a thing can be (Now he was in his height about the year 1264) And thus much is expreſly confeſt by his learned Commentator *Cajetan*, and by the great Caſuiſt *Navarr*. Nor is that any other but a poor evaſion, which *Soto*, *Suarez*, and ſome other Writers uſe, that St. *Thomas* ſpoke not of *Organs*, but of other leſs Muſical inſtruments; Organs, having been long before his time, namely as before ſaid, pretended to have been introduced by *Vitalian*. For mine own part, I could be glad, were it made out, they were of much longer ſtanding in the Chriſtian Church than *Vitalian* himſelf: but I love

love to assert no more, than *I* apprehend *I* can prove; nor have *I* any so ill conceit or diffidence of our cause, as to suppress what *I* know is objected, or objectible against it. *I* say therefore they who affirm *Vitalian* brought in *Organs*, must understand the word in that large sense, before mentioned, wherein it signifies any Musical instruments, and not particularly of what we now call Organs: For the present *Organ* is not an instrument of such antiquity in the *Western* World, nor indeed any where else so ancient, as commonly thought. The *Hebrew* Organ, according to *Maimon*, was onely a Metal-pipe, though of what fashion *I* cannot find. The inventor, or time of the invention of our present Organ, those who have purposely writ hereof, cannot tell. The eldest account, to be found of it, is a description of it, produced out of an Anonymous *Greek* Philosopher, & him tao without date of age, who calls it

Marin. Mersen. de instru. Harm. l. 3. in init.

Μέγιστον Ὄργανον, ἡ μέγα ψαλτήριον, καὶ χειρο-

"The biggest instrument, the great "Psaltery, the Hand-organ; ψαλτήριον καὶ αὐλητικόν, and many other names

by

by which, it is concluded to have been a *Grecian* invention. There is also a very ingenious Epigram of the Emperour *Julian*'s, in description of it, produced by the same hand, *I* mean *Mersennus*'s, which shews, it must have been elder in *Greece* than the year 360. But it is agreed, saith the learned Mr. *Gregory*, treating of the time when first the *Nicene* Creed began to be sung, that "the first Organ that was ever "seen in the *West*, was sent over into "*France* to King *Pipin*, from the *Greek* "Emperour *Constantine Copronymus*, "about the year 766. (*Res adhuc* Germanis & Gallis *incognita*, *instrumentum Musicæ maximum*, &c.) A thing "then unknown to that part of the "World, a vast Musical instrument, "call'ed an Organ, made of Tin pipes, "and those blown with bellows, and "struck with the hands and feet. After this pattern, the first which was made in the *Western* parts, was for the Emperour *Lewis* the *Godly*, about the year 820. as *Bellarmine* himself in a manner confesseth. So that upon the whole, it is in a sort impossible *Vitalian*

Greg. Posthum. pag. 4

Annal. Boior. lib. 3.

Con. 3. par. 3. c. 17.

could introduce the Organ. And that it came not ſuddenly into Churches, is already apparent. But though I have ſaid the Organ was not in uſe in the Church in *Aquinas* his time, yet immediately after, it muſt be acknowledged: for it is twice mentioned by *Durandus* (who writ about the year 1300) as received before his time, and ſaid to have been taken into the Chriſtian Church, in imitation of *David's* and *Solomon's* practice, no bad precedents in devotion. I could produce ſome later Canons, for the due regulating Organical Muſick in the Church: as that of the *Concilium Senonenſe*, Decret. Mor. c. 17. *Organorum uſum Eccleſia à Patribus ad cultum ſervitiumque divinum recepit. Nolumus itaque quod Organicis inſtrumentis reſonet Eccleſia impudica aut laſciva melodia, ſed &c.* That of the Council of *Colen* ſ. on after, much to the ſame effect. *De offic. & vit. Cleric.* cap. 15. But all theſe and other authorities, ſuppoſe them introduced; and of the ſtrict time of their coming in, perhaps a more particular account cannot be given, than now has been.

Rationale l. 4. c. 34, & l. 5. c. 2.

The

The Organ being thus (silently) come in, an instrument of such admirable variety and fulness, and, as its very name imports, the chief of all Musical instruments, or in a sort all in one, it is reasonable to expect Vocal Musick should advance apace; and so undoubtedly it did, though to speak precisely, giving each gradation its proper time and Authour, *I* am not able. I have above said, the utmost that the *Eastern* Musick ever rose to, was meer Plain-song: and if we may believe what is pretended still to be the *Gregorian* Musick, even that advanced no higher. Nor are there wanting those, who affirm thus much touching all the Musick of the Ancients, contending, that variety of parts was never heard of till very late dayes; and that if the Ancients sung to any instrument, as it is sure they did, both to Wind-instruments, and Stringed ones especially, they sung the same they played. I have many reasons, which perswade me the contrary, touching the old *Grecian* Musick, and induce me to say, that though they might sing, some of them, the

same which was plaid, as we do to instruments, on which more parts than one is plaid, when a *Chorus* sings; yet supposing with them, more than one sung, generally they sung with some difference of Parts. I am sure, out of their own Books, that they had a different way of pricking (Διπλῶν γὰρ ἐχεῖ τὸν χρῆσιν, ἐπὶ λέξεως καὶ κρούσεως) "for, say they, we have a "double use of it, for singing and for "playing: and that no one voice could sing all that they ordinarily played; for they denied any voice to be of greater compass than 12 Notes: Now it is certain their old scale (whatsoever some have spoken of it without book, who write of the *Grecian* Musick, *nullo* Græcorum *Musicorum lecto*, as is complained, and proved of *Kircher* himself) exceeds that of *Guido*'s by a whole *Diatessaron*: This *Meibonius* proves in his Notes on *Euclid*'s introduction to Musick, pag. 50, 51. Further, it appears by a multitude of passages, which I could produce out of their Books, that they had difference of time, as well as of Keys: Now what great use there could be of all these, & to what purpose their discourses of

Bacchius.

Mar: Meib: in præf. ad 7. antiq. Music. autores.

f consonants or concords, of the due onsecution of intervals, and many more ike points should be, I am utterly at a oss, if they had not amongst them what vemean by composition. I am sure I meet vith the very name amongst them (Σύνθεσις) and Rules for the contriving t *Harmonically*. As to matter of act, though there is little, that I know f, to be said, whatever they set being all ost, as far as I can hear, yet that pas- ge cited ont of *Athenæus lib.* 14. by *Glareanus*, is not to be contemned, hat *Pythagoras Zacynthius* so plaid (*Ba- m, alteramque vocem, ac acutam*) "A Basse, and another part, and a sharp one or treble, that if any had one- heard, and not seen him, they would ave thought they had heard three arps plaid on. And for a conclu- on, it is to me an uncontroleable vidence, that they had a long time oth understood, and practiced varie- of parts, & even something of proper scant, because they invented the *Or- n*; an instrument which does *miscere rmina* (as in the *Epigram* of it) *t in all parts* with all variety of time.

Aristid. Quintil: de Music: l. 1. circa med.

Glarean. Dodecar. lib. 3. Proœm.

Julian Imp.

But though I thus contend artificial Musick, & that of admirable variety, might be of such old ſtanding in the World, I do not believe it came into the Church-uſe, but with the *Organ:* And that even then, they, at firſt, and for ſome time, contented themſelves with the plaineſt ſort of *Counterpoint*, Note anſwering Note, Semibrief Semibrief, Minim Minim, in the ſeveral parts, without any diviſionary diſcant. For as to the ſeveral preſent Ornaments and Figurations of Harmony, they are to be confeſſed (to uſe Mr. *Gregorie's* words) but *a Yeſterdayes buſineſs*, a new though very rare invention. Notwithſtanding, I do not imagine it blameworthy, to uſe them in the Worſhip of God; provided thoſe general rules, before laid down, touching ſinging to God, be not tranſgreſſed: For I would fain know, why *I* may not *ſing* to God in the *Muſick* of the *age*, as well as *pray* or *preach* in the *language* of the age. And I doubt not before I have done, to convince thoſe adverſaries, which open lowdeſt againſt our Cathedral uſe, that they themſelves, not onely uſe, but

plead

plead for (as Ordinances too of Christ) several practices, that are much more novel than *Organs*, or our Choral-singing.

Sect. 7.

In the mean while, let us see what Churches have received artificial and instrumental Musick; or at least, where we do not find any publick acts of Churches approving thereof, what has been the judgment of their more eminent Doctors, touching the use of it in publick worship, where it may conveniently be had. Touching the *Romish* Church, I need say nothing; they have Musick but too much: and by this their practice, as well as by others, violate all the Apostolical Lawes for publick edification. Onely, that some people may know, they are not in all things so opposite to the Pope, as in zeal they design, *I* will tell them, that there is no Organ in the Popes Chappel: because Organs are not of necessity in the Christian Church, say *Cajetan* and *Sotus*. And, is his Holiness then so strict an observer and Patriot of the simple, essential, necessary Christianity, as that no ceremony, or prudent

Ad Thom. 2da, 2dæ, q. 91. D. just. & jur. l. 10. c. 5.

dential profitable conſtitution will down with him? Or, becauſe he is Univerſal Biſhop, is he priviledged to be ſingular? Or rather, becauſe, forſooth, he is, under Chriſt, the ſupreme Lawgiver, therefore he may chooſe what order he will be conform to, and what not? This in truth, together with ſome other little politick formality, is the true reaſon, as we well know, why Organs ſound not ſo well in his Holineſs's Chappel, as a dozen or two of Eunuchs voices, which poſſibly, as we Hereticks think, have as little neceſſity, and leſs decency; let his creatures ſay what they pleaſe. As to the *Eaſtern* Church, there is perhaps no Organ, or inſtrumental Muſick therein. Alas! in moſt places, they have ſcarce the face of a Church: few Prieſts, and thoſe generally ignorant, even to ſtupidity; fewer Oratories, and (if we may believe ſome, who have given us the lateſt accounts of the preſent ſtate of certain of thoſe Churches) ſcarce the advantage of Wine enough for the Communion. The good God in his time return and viſit them. But I preſume

Tho: Smith in Sept. Aſi. Eccleſ. Notit.

ſume, the account chiefly expected here, will be of the practice of the Reformed Churches. And I ſhould in my judgment be much guilty of the breach of the fifth commandment, did I not give my *Mother* the Church of *England* the firſt place of dignity amongſt them. It is not the flattery, or over-weening miſtake of a fond Son of Hers, but the juſt cenſure of an Alien: *Si me conjectura non fallit, totius Reformationis pars integerrima eſt in* Anglia, *ubi cum ſtudio Veritatis viget ſtudium antiquitatis.* "If my judgment doth not deceive me (ſaith the learned *Iſaac Caſaubon*) "the "ſincereſt part of the Reformation is "in *England*, where, together with "the ſtudy of Truth, flouriſheth alſo "the ſtudy of Antiquity. This indeed was the deſign of our Church, not to bring in a new-coin'd Chriſtianity, but to reform the doctrine and practice of corrupted Chriſtianity, according to the Primitive purity: for which, though ſhe have found many Enemies amongſt unreaſonable men, who are reſolved to like nothing, but what is new, or their own, yet *Wiſdome* is,

Iſaac. Caſaubon. ad Cl. Salmaſ. Ep. 40.

and will be, *justified of her children*; and we do not doubt but *The children, which the Lord shall give* our Mother, *after the loss of those other*, who have quitted their duty to her, *shall yet say, The place is too strait for us*, if there be nothing found in us more displeasing to God, than this the Rule of our Reformation. With such calmness and Christian prudence our Church proceeding, did not find her self concerned, to melt her Organ-Pipes into Bullets, to purge Liturgies and Anthems by fire, & to *destroy* Cathedrals, those glorious *Houses of God in the Land*; it being much more worthy to reduce to due order, than to abolish and pervert, what was well designed, and there being no footsteps of such Christianity in the Primitive ages, where there was more temptation to tumultuous practices. Thus it came to pass, that God was, and is, worshipped in our Church both *in spirit and in truth*, and yet in beauty, decency and sweetness.

As to Forreign Reformed Churches, it having pleased God to plant them, where they are either more obnoxious

to

to the incurſions, or ſubject to the power of *Romaniſts*, there was perhaps never any in the World in ſo ſettled a condition, as the *Engliſh*, and therefore it cannot be expected, that there ſhould be either at the beginning of the Reformation, or in conſtant continuance, ſuch glory and order to be found in any as in it. We were certainly once the Envy of our Neighbours, and might be ſo ſtill, were it not the endeavour of ſome amongſt us (though I hope unwittingly and not with deſign) to make us their ſcorn. But to come cloſe to the point: All the Forreign reformed, in a manner, follow the *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* platform; and we may in good meaſure ſee, what we are to expect from them in the preſent caſe, by conſidering the ſentiments of their great Doctors therein. As to *Luther* s own judgment, it was certainly for us: Speaking of the Communion-ſervice, that it ought in every nation to be in the Mother-tongue, he ſaith, *Miſſam Vernaculam opto magis quam promitto; quòd impar ſim huic operi, quia Muſicam mihi & Spiritum deſideret*: "I rather "wiſh

Apud Melch. Adam. in vit. Luth. p. 163.

"wiſh a Communion-ſervice in our Mo-
"ther-tongue, than promiſe it, being
"not ſufficient for ſo great a Work:
"for it requires both Muſick and a Spi-
rit. It is plain hereby, what he de-
ſigned, and would have had, though
poſſibly, by reaſon of the troubled
eſtate of affairs in his dayes, he was never
able to effect it. I know indeed, that
there is a paſſage cited, at the ſecond
hand, by a diſguiſed Author, come to
my ſight, ſince I begun this Work,
Apolo. pro eject. Angl. Miniſt. wherein *Luther* is ſaid to have called *Organs* amongſt other things, the *Enſignes* or *Badges of* Baal. As to this, Firſt, there is no reference given to any place in *Luther*, neither by this Anonymous Writer, nor the Authour from whom he takes the citation, for the ſearching the time, occaſion, connexion, or manner of this ſpeech of *Luther*'s. Secondly, all men know *Luther* had his heats, and ſometimes too
Præfixum 1° tom. Edit. Jen. 1564. writ in them, what he repented of after: and it is a cenſure which he himſelf paſſed of ſeveral of his own Works (*cum judicio legenda ſunt omnia*) that all things in thoſe pieces were to be

read

read with judgment. Now there is a great difference betwixt what a man ſayes in a little rant, as this ſeems to be ſaid, and upon ſober, mature and conſciencious deliberation, in which temper, the former paſſage plainly was written. Laſtly, we will give *Luther*'s Diſciples, that is, the *Lutheran* Doctours, leave better to underſtand their Teachers conſtant Doctrine, than ſtrangers and adverſaries. Thus therefore *H: Eckhardus*, Doctor of Divinity, and Superintendent of the Church of *Schwatzburg*: "*Luther* does indeed, in a cer- "tain place, call both Churches, and "Altars, and Fonts, and Chalices, *&c.* "the *Enſigns of Baal*, but not ſimply "ſo, *Sed ſi ſingularis aliquis cultus illis* "*affingatur*; if any ſpecial holineſs be "attributed to them, or conceived in "them. And ſo much would we ſay too in the ſame caſe: for we plead not for them ſo, as to make them idols, or as neceſſary by divine inſtitution, but only as convenient Utenſils for the more orderly, comely and devout worſhipping of God. And thus we have not onely *Luther* for us, but all the *Lutheran*

Faſcic. Controv. Theol. c. 21.

ran Doctors, that ever I have ſeen. And it is certain, that moſt, if not all the *Lutheran* Churches, which have any tolerable ſettlement, in *Germany*, *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, the *Cantons* of the *Switzers*, and under the *Poliſh* Dominions, or where elſe, have received and practice the uſe of inſtrumental muſick in the Worſhip of God, as well as we; and thoſe who have it not, being of the ſame mind herein with their Brethren, reckon the want thereof amongſt the number of their miſeries.

As to *Calvin*, he ſeems not to have been conſtant to himſelf in this matter; at leaſt, not to have ſpoken with ſuch perſpicuity, or memory of what he ſaid on different occaſions, and at ſundry times, as that it is eaſie to reconcile him with himſelf. We have ſaid in his comments on the *I.* to the *Corinthians*, he profeſſes, he doubted not at all but the Chriſtians, from the very beginning, imitated the *Jewiſh* cuſtome in ſinging Pſalms: now it is ſure enough, the *Jewes* ſung Pſalms to inſtruments. But it will be ſaid for him,

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he is to be underſtood there of the things ſung, or of ſinging abſolutely, and in the general, not of ſo ſtrict a manner of ſinging. Be it ſo: yet in his comment on the *Coloſſians*, chap. *III.* v. 16, he allows it properly to be the nature of a *Pſalm*, that in the ſinging thereof (*adhibetur muſicum aliquod inſtrumentum præter linguam*) "ſome mu-"ſical inſtrument be joined to the voice: from whence it plainly follows, that if Chriſtians ought to ſing Pſalms, as he allows, and the Text enforces, they are then to uſe therein muſical inſtruments: And in his comment on *Amos*, he highly commends *David*, that where-"as being muſical, and a lover of mu-"ſick, he might have privately delight-"ed himſelf therewith, when he was "now in peace and eaſe, and paſt all his "dangers, yet he choſe rather (*applicare muſica inſtrumenta ad pietatis exercitium, ut mentem ſuam ad Deum attolleret*; and again, *Ut ſcilicet reſonarent laudes Dei in Templo, ut inde unà cum aliis ſeſe erigeret ad pietatis ſtudium*) "to apply muſical inſtruments to the "exerciſe of devotion, that he might there-

Ad cap. 6. 5.

" thereby raiſe his mind towards God,
" and that they ſounding the praiſes of
" God in the Temple, he might excite
" both himſelf & others to the ſtudy of
" Godlineſs. Who would deſire a greater *Encomium* of the uſe of muſical inſtruments in the divine Worſhip? Or what can be ſaid more expreſs in acknowledgment of their natural and perpetual uſefulneſs for the furtherance of devotion? One might now expect, *Calvin* ſhould have ſet up Organs at *Geneva:* at leaſt, that he ſhould have reckoned the want of them amongſt ſome other things, which he was not able there to redreſs, and which he did (*ferre, quia non utile eſt contendere*) " endure, becauſe it was to no purpoſe to contend with that people. But we ſhall elſewhere hear him in another tune, reckoning all inſtrumental muſick, and ſinging thereto, in the Worſhip of God, to have been (*pars legalis Pædagogiæ*) " part of the chiliſh rudiments of the Law, —fooliſhly " borrowed from the *Jewes* — introduced into the Chriſtian Church through " inconſiderate zeal, and impious preſum-

Epiſt. 3 3.

Comment. in Pſ. 33. 2.

"ſumption. More of this nature may be picked up out of the ſame Work. Truly, a man who had read thoſe other forementioned paſſages, might have expected better language: onely *Mr. Calvin* had ſeldome much of that to ſpare. However, as good as he (though in other points too much his followers) were in this point of another mind: Particularly, it was both more Chriſtianly and judiciouſly determined by *Peter Martyr*, "That if there be any "Church which uſe not ſinging, for rea- "ſons which to her ſeem good, ſhe may "not therefore be juſtly condemned: "provided ſhe contend not the thing "to be in its own nature, and by the "command of God, unlawful, nor up- "on that occaſion brand, or exclude "from the fellowſhip of Chriſt, other "Churches, who uſe both ſinging and "Muſick. *Zanchy* yet goes further, upon the V. to the *Epheſ.* v. 19. *Multiplex & magnus eſt uſus hujus Muſicæ*, &c. "Manifold and great, ſaith he, is the "uſe of this Muſick. Firſt, that the "glory of God may thereby be made "more illuſtrious and auguſt. Secondly,

Loc. Com. claſſ. 3. loc. 13. p. 29.

Vid. & Zanch. in Coloſſ. 3. 16.

"ly, The mind of man is after a mar-
"veilous ſort affected therewith. Third-
"ly, Our heart being by this muſick
"made more cheerful, the grace of
"God dwelling in us, is ſtirred up.
The ſame is the judgment of *Diodati*, and many of the later *Calviniſts*, who, though it was the fate of ſome of them, to be neceſſitated to be without Organs in their Churches, have declared their deſire of them. And from this conſent of their Doctors undoubtedly it is, that Organs are at this day in uſe in moſt places of the *Belgick* Churches, and a long time have been; as is evident by the Decrees of their Synods, forbidding the uſe of them upon Political and common occaſions, out of the divine Worſhip, and commanding they ſhould ſound nothing but Pſalms, and the praiſes of God. And not onely they, but ſeveral of the Paſtors of the Reformed *French* Churches, who live in places where they can conveniently have Organs, have alſo introduced them, as the worthy Dr. *Durell* teſtifies, touching the Reverend *Rochfort*, Paſtor of the *French* Church at *Roterdam*, and others.

Vid. *Durel.* Apol. P. 140.

Vindic. Eccleſ. *Angl.* c. 27.

Upon

Upon the whole then, as to the Practice of the Primitive Church, this has been abundantly made evident, that from the very infancy of Christianitie, *singing to God* has *ever* been *in use*: that it has been a *constant part* of the *Publick Worship*, and the fear of Persecution it self, stopped not the mouths of the Primitive Christians, but they were hereby *first discovered*. I might have added for the further asserting this practice, that the time, when it was thus exemplarily in publick and universal use, fell into the later dayes of St. *John* the beloved disciple, who, according to *Eusebius*, saw the beginning of *Trajan*'s Reign. There has been indeed *Variety* in the practice of the several ages: Some while they sung *inspired Hymns*, some while Scripture: afterwards Hymns of *Humane composure*, but consonant (at least supposed consonant) to Scripture and Faith. These Hymns were sometimes in *Verse*, sometimes in *Prose*; but howsoever, when of private composure, never admitted into publick use, till they had at least past the approbati- *Sect.* 8.

on of the Biſhops of thoſe Churches, where they were uſed. The *manner* and circumſtances of ſinging too have been various: The firſt ſinging, was in a manner nothing but a *modulate pronunciation*, ſo that all ſorts publickly and vocally joined as to ſome parts therein. Nor did the Chriſtian people then content themſelves with the *publick* practice, but at home and abroad, *every where* and upon all occaſions and opportunities, all conditions and ages were employed therein. By degrees their ſinging became more refined and *artificial*; and a particular Order of men were bred up, and appointed hereto.

De Of. fic. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 12. *Ex vetere* [Judæorum] *more*, *Eccleſia ſumpſit exemplum nutriendi Pſalmiſtas*, *quorum cantibus ad affectum Dei mentes audientium excitentur*, ſaith *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*. And in proceſs of time, *inſtrumental* Muſick was added for the exciting devotion, for governing the Voices of thoſe who ſung, and *making the praiſe* of God more *glorious:* in which kind of muſick, the *Organ* has generally now ſo obtained, through the very Reformed Church, that it may

may, in a ſort, plead univerſality of approbation. This is the ſumme of the Progreſs of Chriſtian-ſong, or of Church-muſick, from its Primitive ſimplicity, to its preſent glory: Touching which I onely ſay, the Lord grant, the fervour of our devotion may, in ſome meaſure, anſwer the perfections of the preſent outward performances in this kind.

CHAP. III.

Of the *Engliſh Practice*, and the juſtifiableneſs thereof.

Sect. 1. *The fourth head of this Diſcourſe. Different uſeage in ſinging obſervable in the practice of the* Engliſh *Church.* Sect. 2. What regularly *is, or is to be* ſung *in our Church* Sect. 3. Prayers *may be* ſung, *though of our Prayers, onely ſome* reſponſory *Petitions are artificially ſung.* Sect. 4. *Of the* Antiquity *of ſinging the Book of* Pſalms *in the* alternate *way.* Sect. 5. *What Reaſons might induce the Church to this Practice.* Sect. 6. *Whether and how the* Pſalms *are proper*

to be ſung in the Evangelical ſtate. Sect. 7. *Of* Anthems, *and what ſubject and form fitteſt for them.* Sect. 8. *Of* Voluntaries. Sect. 9. *Of putting the Pſalms into* metre; *and the practice of other Reformed Churches herein.* Sect. 10. *Singing the* Engliſh metrical Verſion *ſtands in our Church, neither by law nor allowance, but by bare permiſſion and connivance.* Sect. 11. *The groſs indecencies and miſcarriages common herein.* Sect. 12. *Whether* inſtrumental muſick *in the Worſhip of God be* lawful *under the Evangelical ſtate?* Sect. 13. *Whether it be* expedient? Sect. 14. *Anſwers to Objections.* Sect. 15. *A Tranſition to what remains.*

Sect. 1. HAving now the Practice of the Primitive Church, and of ſucceeding ages, before us, it follows according to what in the beginning was propounded, we proceed more narrowly to view our *Own*, and to examine whether it be *juſtifiable*, according to the *Apoſtolical rules*, and *primitive* or *laudable precedents.* Now it is obvious to any mans ob-

obſervation, that there is at preſent practiced in our Church a double uſe= age in ſinging: And I muſt ingenuouſly acknowledge, no two things which have the ſame name, and in any degree the ſame nature, common to them, can be more unlike one the other, than are our *Choral* and *Parochial* ſinging. And even in our moſt regular Quires, there are two different ſorts of ſinging admitted, the *Gregorian* way or common Chants, and that more curious *Figurate* kind, in which our Services (as we call them) our Anthems, and ſome other parts of our Liturgy, are compoſed. Neither of theſe two laſt, according as generally uſed, can be challenged, as not being ſufficiently Harmonious: and if in the later of them, the intemperate skill of ſome Maſters have introduced too much curioſity and delicacy, as to point of compoſition, the fault is onely by exceſs of ſweetneſs; of which hereafter. The Parochial way is indeed obnoxious in diverſe regards, but of that alſo in its proper place. In the mean time, we begin with the examination of the Choral uſe, that being much

much the more worthy to take place, and having more authority from the letter of the Law.

Sect. 2. And first as to the matter, it is to be considered, whether what is according to law, or common custome sung, be in it self fit and meet. First, *I* do not account speaking or pronouncing in a Cathedral (that is a distinct, grave, plain audible tone) to be singing: for at that rate some might say (though with what reason, let themselves see) that we sing all. Now this being admitted, whatever is according to rule sung in our Quires, may be reduced to these heads, Psalms, Hymns, Creeds, or Prayers. That Psalms or Hymns in general are fit to be sung, cannot be denied; and for the particular Psalms sung with us, we shall suddenly, at large, consider them: and under Hymns at present, I comprehend Anthems. Of Creeds, we have two that are usually sung; the *Athanasian*, which is onely chanted or sung in the *Gregorian* way, on some more considerable Festivals; and that commonly called the *Nicene* Creed, which is curiously set by several

ral hands, and conſtantly ſung in the Communion-ſervice. Now why any ſhould deem it improper to confeſs our Faith in ſinging to God, I do not apprehend. What more apt to draw forth the exerciſe of faith, hope, gratitude & love, than the contemplation of the divine nature, of the incarnation of our Lord, of the office and miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, than the commemoration of all the parts of our Redemption, of our preſent advantages in Church-communion, and of our future expectations? We do without vanity profeſs, that in the ſinging our Creed; we exerciſe theſe ſeveral Chriſtian graces, and at the ſame time, both lift up our hearts to God in this our confeſſion, and declare with joy before men and Angels, to the praiſe of our God, that we, from our hearts, receive theſe truths, and expect to be ſaved in the belief of them, bleſſing God, who has revealed them to us, and wrought in our ſouls a perſwaſion of them. What any can blame in this practice, I do not ſee. Some are of a mind, that the *Carmen Chriſto tanquam Deo*, that *Hymn* which the Pri-

mitive Christians used to sing *to Christ as God* in their early Assemblies, was their Creed, and the conjecture is not improbable. But touching the *Nicene* (though that we use is rather the *Constantinopolitan*) Creed, it is certain, it has been sung in the Church, in a manner, from the very compiling of it. "It was or-
In vita Marci. "dained (saith *Platina*) by this *Mark* (Bi-
"shop of *Rome*, about the year 336, ac-
"cording to *Bellarmin*) that on all solemn
"days, immediately after the Gospel (*Symbolum à Clero & populo magnâ voce decantaretur, eo modo quo fuerat in* Niceno *concilio declaratum*) "the Creed should
"be sung with a loud voice by the Clergy
"& people, in that form wherein it was
"explained in the *Nicene* Council. The
De rit. l. 1. c. 13. same is said of him by *Durantus* and others. And both *Walafridus Strabo*, and *Berno* Abbot of *Augia*, pro-
Lib. de reb. Eccl: Libel: de Mlss: c: 1: duce the authority of the Council of *Toledo* alledging, that it was also the usage of the *Eastern* Church so to sing it. To conclude, the singing not only the *Nicene*, but the *Athanasian* Creed too, is approved by several of the first Reformers: the *Nicene*, by *Luther* expressly, in the com-

communion Office which he modelled; and the *Athanasian* too, by *Peter Martyr*, in his common place touching singing. So that they must not onely condemn antiquity, and the practice of the Universal Church, but even the judgment of the Reformers, both *Lutheran* and *Calvinian*, who reprehend this practice. Form. Miss. pro Eccles. Wittenb. Class. 3. loc. 13. part. 1. 29.

It follows, that we speak something touching singing of Prayers; for that this some have prejudice against in our Church. Now they who will say it is improper to sing Prayers, must, if they will, stand to that assertion, lay aside the singing of most of the Psalms; for they are not onely, all over, full of Petitions, but some of them in their very Titles called Prayers. *Ps. XVII. A prayer of* David: So too *Ps. LXXXVI.* And *Ps. XC. A prayer of* Moses *the man of God. Psal. CII. A prayer of the afflicted, when he is overwhelmed, and poureth out his complaint before the Lord.* And Lastly, *Ps. CXL. Maschil of David: A prayer when he was in the cave.* Yet it is certain, all these were both musically pend (designed therefore by the Holy Ghost to be sung) Sect. 3.

ſung) and have been all along, as well as at preſent they are, ſung by all ſorts of Chriſtians. They therefore who are for ſuch a Reformation, which ſhall take away all ſinging of Prayers, muſt reform Scripture, as well as the Catholick practice of the Church in all ages. But let us conſider, how ſmall a portion of our Prayers are ſung. All our Collects, and ſuch like Prayers, are onely read in a diſtinct, plain and audible voice: if there be any variation of a Note in the cloſe of the Prayer, for the retaining or exciting the attention of the people, that all may be ready to give their *Amen*, this is as much as is; & 'tis no more than needful, for the reaſons inſinuated. But let thoſe, who reprehend this, conſider how impoſſible almoſt it is, frequently to repeat any form of words, but we ſhall inſenſibly, and of our own accord, fall into ſome tone: And I wiſh our ſevereſt cenſurers, though they uſe no form of Prayers, were not generally faln into more affected, uncouth and ungrateful toning, than any uſed in our Quires. Now if the Church, to prevent all draw-

drawling and indecent tones (which are apteſt too to fall in, in the cloſes of Sentences) hath brought in the uſe of ſuch regular & eaſie variation of accent, rather than ſinging, who ſhall charge her with imprudence? Or rather, who ought not to commend her care? This therefore not well bearing the name of ſinging, the onely Prayers amongſt us, which any can ſay we ſing, are the Verſicles and reſponſory Petitions, in the dayly Morning and Evening Office, in the Litany, and in the Communion-ſervice. Theſe are generally modulated in a very plain way, and at more ſolemn ſeaſons ſometimes ſung after the newer figurate mode. Now if Prayers may be ſung, why not theſe? which are many of them Verſes taken out of the Pſalms, and the reſt of them conciſe ſentences, reſembling the Pſalmick Verſes. Not to mention the gratefulneſs of this variety in the manner of Prayer (which in ſo long offices, to vulgar ſpirits, is not unneceſſary) I muſt profeſs ſincerely, as to my ſelf, this modulate way many times quickens, & calls in my attention, and draws out, and as it

were lengthens, devout breathings of ſoul: I ſpeak it not in vanity, but in the fear of God, and for the good of others; nor do I doubt, but there are thouſands who frequent our Quires, that can ſay the ſame. I will conclude all I ſhall ſay, touching ſinging Prayers, with the judgment of Mr. *Calvin* herein, *Certè, ſi ad eam, quæ Dei & Angelorum conſpectum decet, gravitatem, attemperatus ſit cantus, cùm dignitatem & gratiam ſacris actionibus conciliat, tum ad excitandos, in verum Precandi ſtudium ardoremque, animos plurimum valet.* "Truly (ſaith he) if ſinging be "accommodated to that gravity, which "becomes the ſight of God and Angels, "[and ſuch we may ſafely ſay our ſinging is] "it not onely gains much grace "and veneration to holy performances, "but is of very great force, to ſtir up "mens minds, to real attention and fervour in prayer. In the judgment then of Mr. *Calvin* (however his preſent followers ſwerve from it) ſinging is ſo far from being unbecoming of the Office of prayer, that it is an help to its devouter performance.

Inſtit. lib. 3. c. 20. Sec. 32.

But

But to come now more particularly to treat of singing the Book of Psalmes; which that we take intirely as they lye, by considerable portions in every dayes Worship, offends some, and is looked upon as a lip-labour, or a kind of Popish task of Devotion. *I* do not say, but that some are apt to satisfie themselves with the meer recital or chanting of them, that they go through the dayly partitions as a task, and rest in the outward performance: we are sorry for it, and dayly endeavour to redress it, nor do we want success herein, blessed be God: But *I* do say, the number of them is very great, who are not thus sensless, who heed, and understand, and *sing* them *with grace in their hearts*; and that the practice it self is highly laudable, and of singular conducency to edification. Taking that therefore for granted, *I* shall onely shew, for the reconciling all sober spirits hereto, that the use it self is of far greater antiquity in the Church, than that it can be suspected to be of Popish extraction: & then, that though the Psalms were calculated chiefly for the *Jewish* state and worship, *Sect.* 4.

yet

yet they are not so improper for Christian-mens mouths, as many may conceive.

Some there are, who would fetch this practice as far as from the Apostolical age, and conceive those injunctions, that Christian people should *speak to one another in Psalms, or Hymns*, or in St. *James* his language, that they should *sing Psalms*, to be meant even of *David's* Psalms. Nay, there are who go higher, even to our Lords own practice; & because he complained to his Father upon the Cross, in the words of the first verse of the two and twentieth Psalm, conclude him then to have used the whole Psalm: And further, observing that after his institution and celebration of his Supper, he, with his disciples, sung an Hymn, judge them to have sung the *Great Hallelujah*, or the *CXIV.* and four following Psalms, which they say, the *Jewes* used to sing at the Pass-over. But these are onely conjectures: and probables of the lowest rank, are but bad arguments. Such proofs do but little service (especially now adayes) which are as soon refuted, as denied. It is most cer-

certain the Hymns in those dayes were fitted to the present occasion by the Holy Ghost, inspiring their authours: and though much use might be made of the Psalms, as consisting, more than other books of passages, fit for devotion and praise, yet it was onely of scattered parts of them, as they were seasonable; according as is evident by that prayer of the Apostles, *Acts IV.* 24, & other like. To deal ingenuously then, the first instance, (as far as *I* know) which we have, savouring of this practice, is the passage above cited, on other occasion, out of *Tertullian*, *Ut quisque de Scripturis sacris, vel de proprio ingenio potest*, &c. By which it is plain, the primitive Christians used sometimes to sing the expres words of Scripture. But this is yet very short of our orderly course day by day, and the alternate, or responsory way of singing. To fix this institution upon its true authour or time, is not easie. *I* find no less than four several pretended institutours hereof. The first is St. *Ignatius*, the third Bishop of *Antioch* after St. *Peter*: touching him, *Socrates* reports, that he saw a vision of

Apolog. c. 39.

Hist. Eccl. li. 6. c. 8.

Angels (like that of *Iſaiah*'s, *Iſa. VI.* 2, 3.) praiſing God alternately; *Et formam canendi in eâ viſione expreſſam, Eccleſiæ* Antiochenæ *tradidit, unde illa traditio ab omnibus Eccleſiis recepta eſt:* "And he delivered to the Church of "*Antioch* the form of ſinging, which he "ſaw in that viſion, from whence that "way of ſinging has been received by "all Churches. This ſingle teſtimony is all the authority of ancient date, that *I* can find, producible for the pretence from *Ignatius*: and *I* muſt acknowledg, it is inſufficient to work on my belief. So is alſo, what the *Magdeburgenſes* cite out of a book, which *I* could never ſee, intituled *Faſciculus Temporum*, That *Pontianus* Biſhop of *Rome* appointed, the *Pſalmes ſhould be ſung in the Church night and day.* This *Pontianus* came to that See in the year 233, & ſate therein five years. But *I* meet with no ſuch thing of him in *Platina*, or others: and there might be ſung in the *Roman* Church, as *I* believe there were, certain Hymns (which might be called Pſalms in a large ſenſe) and yet no ſinging *David*'s Pſalms in courſe. The

Cent. 3. cap. 6.

third

third pretence is, that this institution came from *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, men of great authority and holiness, but then not so much as Priests, in the City of *Antioch*, under the Empire of *Constantius*, about the year 340. who when their Orthodox & lawful Bishops were ever & anon expulst, and *Stephanus*, *Leontius*, & other *Arrians*, obtruded as Bishops, stoutly opposed the invading Heresie, gathered & kept together the sound believers, and διχῆ διελόντες τὰς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορὰς, ἐν ἀντιφωνίαις ἔθεσαν τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐναλλὰξ μέλπειν τὸν Δαυϊδικὸν. "dividing the Quires of those who "sung into two parts, taught them to sing "*David*'s psalms. Which usage (saith the "authour) being begun first at *Antioch*, "went forth and prevailed to the ut"most coasts of the World. The last of the assigned originals or institutions of this practice, is from *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, about the year 370. Touching him, *Platina* records, that he ordained (*Ut Psalmi quoque alternis vicibus in Ecclesiâ canerentur, in fineque eorum verba hæc ponerentur, Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui sancto*) "That "the Psalms should be sung alternately

Theodoret. Hist. l. 2. c. 24.

In vit. Damas.

"in the Church, and at the end of "each should be added these words, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.* There is also amongst the Epistles of this *Damasus's* to St. *Hierom*, one, in which he complains to him (*Psallentium nec mos tenetur, nec Hymni decus in nostro ore cognoscitur*) "That they had then at "*Rome* no singers, nor was the glory "of an Hymn known in their mouths. To which there is a pretended answer from St. *Hierom*, advising him to set up singing the Psalms, & to adjoin to the end of each *Glory be to the Father*, &c. and *Hallelujah.* But these Epistles, say *Baronius*, and others, are forged: the *Roman* Church sung the Psalms before, and all that *Damasus* set up, was a Version of them from the Septuagint, brought out of the *East* by St. *Hierom*, to whose Writings he gave authority. In summe, if *Damasus* were authour of the alternate singing of the Psalms, it could be onely, as to the practice of it in the *Western* or *Roman* Church: the *Eastern* had it before. For though I have rejected the pretences from *Ignatius*

Concil. Tom. 1.

Ad an. Chr. 60. n. 3. 43.

tius as well as *Pontianus*, because reported onely by single Writers, and those too of suspicious credit, yet the testimony of *Theodoret*, as to *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* bringing up this practice at *Antioch* in *Syria*, swayes with me more, being corroborated by several reasons. First, that it is sure, the Psalms were sung alternately in St. *Ambrose*'s and St. *Austin*'s time, and the practice then said to have been an *Eastern* custome. The testimony of St. *Ambrose* is most expres, as to the alternate singing: comparing the Church to the sea, he saith, (*Tanquam undis refluentibus stridet, tum responsoriis Psalmorum*, &c.) "It sounds "with the responsory singing of *psalms*, "as with the noise of many rowing waters. Passages out of St. *Austin*, may be produced in great plenty. Some of these we have had occasion already to alledge, mentioning the sweet melodies (*quibus psalterium Davidicum frequentabatur*) "with which *David*'s "Psalter was dayly sung; and his asserting it, to have been taken up by St. *Ambrose*, as a custome of *the Eastern parts*. Nor did they then onely sing the

Hexac. l. 3. c. 5.

Confes. l. 10. c. 33.

l. 9. c. 7.

pſalms in publick Aſſemblies alternately, but even at home on more private occaſions. For ſpeaking of his friends behaviour, and his own, while his mother lay dead in the Houſe (*pſalterium arripuit* Euodius, *& cantare cœpit pſalmum, cui reſpondebamus omnis domus*, &c.) "*Euodius*, ſaith he, took "the pſalter, and begun to ſing the "pſalm, *I will ſing of mercy and judgement*, &c, to whom all we who were "in the Houſe anſwered. And that they ſung then (*Latine* being the common language of that Church) a *Latine* Verſion, though poſſibly ſomewhat corrupter than even the preſent Vulgar *Latine*, is plain from that place, where he complains, the cuſtome of ſinging hindred the amendment of the Tranſlation. *Illud etiam, quod jam auferre non poſſumus de ore cantantium populorum, ſuper ipſum autem floriet* (which our preſent Vulgate Bibles read *efflorebit*) *ſanctificatio mea.* Now if we compute the time of theſe ſeveral Fathers flouriſhing, & together reflect upon the time of St. *Ambroſe*'s ſetting up the ſinging *David*'s pſalms in the Church of *Millain*, which was

Conf: l: 9: c: 12.

Aug: de Doctri: Chriſtian: l: 2: c: 13. Pſ: 132: ult.

was under the perſecution raiſed by *Juſtina* Mother of *Valentinian*, and particularly in the Conſulſhip of *Antonius* and *Syagrius*, which fell into the year 382. (that is, two years before the death of *Damaſus*, and eighteen before the death of St. *Hierom*; and in *S. Auſtin*'s own knowledge, and almoſt ſight) and conſider all theſe Fathers to have been familiars or correſpondents, frequent Letters and Tranſactions paſſing betwixt them, it cannot be imagined, *St. Ambroſe* ſhould ſet up a practice in his Church of *Milan*, and pretend to have taken it from the *Eaſtern* uſe, when, if *Damaſus* had about that time, firſt introduced it into the Chriſtian Church (by the advice of *St. Hierom*, whoſe Tranſlation is ſuppoſed to be then authorized, & who appeared not publickly, if I miſtake not my ſelf, till the year 378.) he muſt needs have known it was a new thing, juſt brought up at *Rome*, and no old cuſtome of the *Eaſt*. By this evidence it is plain, the pretence of this inſtitution in the Chriſtian Church, having been firſt from *Damaſus*, muſt needs fall to the ground: Nay,

C: Sigo. de Occid: Im: l: 8.

Nay, there is reason to conclude, that if *Damasus* did set up alternate psalmody at *Rome*, he took it from St. *Ambrose*, rather than St. *Ambrose* from him. And, which is the second reason of my giving more credit to *Theodoret's* testimony, not onely St. *Ambrose* and St. *Austin* assure us, that this practice came out of the *East*, but St. *Basil* too, a Father of the *Greek* Church, more *Easternly* than they, and somewhat elder: who thus writes; Ἐκ νυκτὸς ἐγρηγόρει παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς, *&c.* "The people "with us rise by night, and before "day come to the House of prayer, "where, in humiliation and tears having made their confession to God, "getting up from prayer, they are set "to sing the psalms: and now διχα διαμοιράσαντες ἀντιψάλλομεν ἀλλήλοις, being distributed "into two parts, they sing in answer "one to the other.—And if for this "you forsake us, you must forsake "the *Ægytians*, both the *Africans*, "the *Thebans*, *Palestines*, *Arabians*, *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, *Mesopotamians*, *&c.* so universal was the use. *Pontianus* and *Damasus* then being thus laid aside, and

Basil: Epist: 63: ad Cleric: Neo Cæsar:

and the practice concluded of *Eastern* Original, upon the testimony of those three Fathers, the case onely lies between *Ignatius*, and his two Countreymen *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*; now the credit of *Theodoret* far preponderating that of *Socrates* in my esteem, and *Socrates* his story besides sounding a little fabulously, I should positively have concluded, that ἀξιάγας Συναὶς, that *admirable pair* of Holy men, as *Theodoret* calls them, to have been the first authours of singing the Psalter, in order & intirely, within the Christian Church, were there not one Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, undoubtedly elder than them, which evidently enforces us to admit psalmody (as thereby we understand singing the whole body of *David*'s psalms) to have been of elder use in the Church at large. *It* is the seventeenth Canon of that Council; and if we might take it, as it stands in some *Latin* Versions, it would seem a plain injunction of an orderly course of using the whole Book of psalms. *It* prescribes (*In processionibus non connectere, id est ex diversis versibus & sensibus libri unum*

Magde. Cent. 4. Carranz.

canticum minimè conjungere, ſed ſingulorum pſalmorum ordinabiliter debere fieri Lectionem.) "That they ſhould not in "ordinary Aſſemblies, be any picking "and putting together one Hymn out "of ſeveral paſſages and verſes of the "book, but that each of the pſalmes "ſhould be taken orderly and intirely "as they ly. But the import of the *Greek* Text is clearly another thing, though ſtill conſiderable as to the point in hand. Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἐπισωρεύειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι τοὺς ψαλμούς, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου ἑκάστου ψαλμοῦ γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀναγνώσματα. "That there ſhould not "in a continued courſe, be ſung in the As-"ſemblies a multitude of pſalms together, (or all the pſalms of the day, which were very many, when the whole book, being divided into ſeven Nocturns, was ſung over once a Week, or when even in the *Eaſtern* Church, it was ſung over once in twenty dayes) "but there "ſhould be interpoſed a Leſſon betwixt "each pſalm. This was, ſaith *Zonaras*, the *Old uſe*; the *Old Tradition*, ſaith *Balſamon*, that the pſalms ſhould "be ſung διὰ μιᾶς ὑφῆς, as it were in *one* "*continued web*, which, ſaith he, ſo

In Can. 17. Con. Gl. La-

"wea-

"wearied the people, as that they ran
"out of the Church at them; and that,
"even after the Holy psalter was divi-
"ded (Εις καθισματα διαιρεσεις) into several
"Sessions or partitions: Wherefore
"this Canon ordains, that the Lessons
"be read betwixt the psalms, that the
"people having a little rest, may be
"fresher again for singing. And the
"Fathers deserve thanks for the insti-
"tution. Behold then now a setled
custome (though not particularly the
same we use) of singing the psalter in
course, before *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*;
and that before the year 320, if we
may believe *Baronius* computing the
time of this Council: And it would seem
of some standing, even then. Upon the
whole, this use is so old, that as was said of
the Head of *Nilus*, its rise in the Chri-
stian Church is not to be found: but I do
verily believe, *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*
brought up at *Antioch* first the *Responso-*
ry way of singing; there being, that I
can find, no elder footsteps thereof, or
pretences thereto, in the Christian
Church, saving that of *Ignatius*, which
I have laid aside for the reasons insinua-

ted. Let this then be ſuppoſed to have been the riſe and progreſs of this uſe. The pſalter having been uſed, for time ſo old as does not appear, to be ſung by all ſorts of Chriſtian people together (*cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum*, in St. *Ambroſes* language) thoſe Holy men *Flavianus* & *Diodorus*, firſt brought up the orderly ſinging it alternately at *Antioch*, Morning and Evening; which took preſently all over *Syria*, and the *Eaſt*, and from thence flew to the (τῆς οἰκουμένης τέρμασι, in *Theodoret*'s words) *utmoſt bounds of the habitable world*. For St. *Baſil* ſet it up in *Cæſarea* of *Cappadocia*, St. *Ambroſe* at *Milan*, *Damaſus* at *Rome*, and others otherwhere. Into *England* it came not, till about the year 680, being then brought hither at the command of *Agatho* Biſhop of *Rome*, by *John* Archchanter of St. *Peter*'s in *Rome*, and Abbot of St. *Martin*'s: But there are ancient pretences, that it was in *France* much ſooner, which that learned Antiquary Sir *H: Spelman* has collected and publiſhed, in his firſt Tome of the *Britiſh* Councils: and any one may read

Hexaem. ubi ſupra.

Bed. Hiſt. l. 4. c 18.

Concil. Brit. fo. 175

read them there if he pleaſe, and underſtand and digeſt them if he can. Since thoſe ancient dayes, to inſiſt on the approbations, ratifications, and regulations of it, which have enſued under ſeveral Biſhops, and in later Councils, would not be to much effect. Sure it is, it has ever ſince ſtood in the whole Church without interruption, till of very late days; and is no where better regulated, than at preſent in our Church.

Sect. 5.

This being preſumed a ſufficient account of the Antiquity of ſinging the pſalter, let us now ſearch into the reaſons, which might induce thoſe Holy men, whoever they were, that firſt inſtituted it in the Chriſtian Church, to ſet it up, and the Church to receive it: Now herein we can rather conjecture than determine. *It* is probable, ſome ſuch motives as theſe might be in their eye.

Firſt, the Eternal reaſon, that a publick ſacrifice of praiſe ſhould be paid nnto God morning and evening. By theſe two periods and viciſſitudes of times, it has pleaſed God to diſtinguiſh and meaſure out all time. *The evening and the morning were the firſt day:* and

ſo the paying to God a ſolemn Worſhip, or office of praiſe, at the returns of theſe is a worſhipping him *continually*; and that according to his own warranty and inſtitution. *Two lambs of the firſt year, ſhalt thou offer day by day continually. The one ſhalt thou offer in the morning, the other at even: This ſhall be a continual burnt-offering, throughout your generations:* continual, becauſe continued in its ſeaſons. Thus the Chriſtian Church on earth, deſired to imitate that in heaven, by praiſing God in ſuch a proportion of continuity, as ſhe could, and as he appointed.

Exod. XXIX. 38, &c.

Beſides this, there was undoubtedly regard had to the particular obligatorineſs of Chriſtianity. The Chriſtian Law may juſtly be eſteemed to require, that its profeſſours outdo the ancient *Jewes* in devotion, as well as ſanctity. *Except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees* (the moſt accompliſht and ſevereſt ſort amongſt the *Jewes*) *ye ſhall in no caſe enter into the kingdom of heaven.* It was not fit therefore, that the Chriſtian Church ſhould be outdone by the *Jewiſh*.

Mat. V. 20.

Theſe

Theſe reaſons poſſibly may ſuffice, for the quantity of the Worſhip, and its frequent returns: but why ſhould they have pitched on *theſe pſalmes* to be ſung rather, than any new Chriſtian Hymns? And why too on this *alternate courſe?*

As to the former, there may be two reaſons aſſigned. Firſt, it being ſuppoſed, that ſinging the Pſalter was not ſet up in the Chriſtian Church, till after the ceſſation of the miraculous gifts, there was nothing extant, fit to be ſung, ſo little obnoxious to exception, as the Book of Pſalms. Humane compoſures might be ſuſpected, and, the Church being rent by Hereſies, and one party jealous of another, even in their very Worſhip, undoubtedly were: but the pſalms being conſeſt by all, who own'd the name of Chriſtian, to have been indited by the Holy Ghoſt, it might be thought, contention it ſelf would be at a loſs, to find a quarrel or plea againſt them. Secondly, I will not deny, but thoſe dayes might underſtand the Apoſtolical commands of *ſinging Pſalms*, and *ſpeaking to one another*

ther in Psalms, literally of the book of Psalms. And though they were herein none of the exactest *Logicians*, yet may it not be gain-sayed, but they were serious honest Christians: nor is the variation great; St. *Paul* injoyns Psalms, they in prudence choose these.

And, as to the *alternate* singing them, that locution *speaking to one another*, or betwixt one another, *in psalms and Hymns* appears favourable enough for it to any, who takes the first sense of words, that fairly offers it self: especially when this singing by way of alternation, one part answering another, seems to have been the ancient way of singing in the Former Church. *Exod. XV.* 1. *Moses & the children of Israel sang this song unto the Lord, I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously, the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.* And ver. 21. *Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women after her: and Miriam answered them, sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously, &c.* This is yet clearer by that practice of the *Essens* (a Sect of the

the *Jewes*, which more approached to Christianity, than any other) recorded by *Philo-Judæus*, and by him said to have been taken up with respect to this singing of *Moses* and *Miriam*. "When "they all rise, *Duo fiunt chori in medio cœnaculo, alter virorum, alter fœminarum*, "They divide into two "Quires, in the middle of the room, "one of men, the other of women. "Each side has its *præcentor*, or leader "of the Song, eminent both for dignity, and for skill in singing. Then "they sing Hymns in the praise of God, "composed in several sorts of Metre "and Verse: some times jointly with "one voice, sometime alternately. "—And when with such sweet exchanges they have holily satisfied themselves, they join all again into one "Quire, in imitation of the like institution, when the Sea, at Gods command, came together again for the "destruction of the *Ægyptians* and preservation of the *Israelites*, *Moses* leading the song to the men, & *Miriam* to "the women. In these old precedents, the Church thought fit to alter some

De vit. contempl.

circumstances for more gravity and decency; yet so, as that she hath had regard to ancient practice, singing some things alternately (especially *David's* Psalms) and others by the whole Quire, all joining.

Sect. 6. But touching the nature of the subject matter thus sung, there is one great difficulty still recurs. It will be said, the same Hymn is not proper for a Christians mouth, because pertinent unto a *Jew*; nay, it is therefore improper: Nor can either the practice of holy men, or the commands of Bishops, or the sanctions of Councils, no, nor even well-meaning zeal and holy emulation, justifie an impertinent form of Worship.

It might be answered hereto, and that soberly enough, that this practice having entred the Catholick Church by such methods, as above said, and having now the prescription of thirteen or fourteen hundred years, and the publick prudence and piety of our own Church, having thought good to continue and re-establish it by particular laws in our reformation, so that it is not in the power

power of particular objectors, to alter this the frame of the ſettled Worſhip, no modeſt and adviſed perſon ought, where the Queſtion lyes onely touching the meetneſs and expediency of a thing, to oppoſe their private thoughts to the publick judgment and law; but rather ſubmitting their own reaſonings, to accommodate their devotion, as far as may be, to the publick form, ſeeing they cannot model the publick form, to the good pleaſure of their own devotion.

But I ſhall not at preſent deſire any to exerciſe ſo much modeſty or ſelf-denial, as to ſubmit their reaſon to the law of the Church, meerly for the authority of the ſame. I onely requeſt them a while to ſuſpend their reaſonings and objections, and to wave the prejudices they have conceived thence, ſo long as to conſider, whether the Book of Pſalms, if *ſung with underſtanding* (as all Chriſtian Hymns muſt be, otherwiſe they are impertinent, and unbecoming a Chriſtian ſoul) may not be pertinent enough to the Evangelical ſtate, and of excellent uſe in the publick dayly Ser-

vice. Now for the removal of this imputation, or ſuggeſtion of the incongruity of the Pſalms to the conſtitution of the Goſpel, I deſire the particulars following may be conſidered.

Firſt, that the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Church are both in common, built on the ſame foundations; ſuch as are the ſerious *Belief* and *Worſhip of one*, and him the onely *living and true God*, and of the *ſame Meſſias* or Saviour of the World: onely the *Jewes* of old were to believe in Chriſt as *Future*, becauſe then he was indeed to come, we Chriſtians believe in him as *come* already, and as having *ſuffered*, and being now *exalted* to the *right hand of the Majeſty on high*, becauſe really he is ſo. Moreover, as to the *Rule* both of *Faith* and *Manners*, we both receive the ſame divine Oracles of the Old Teſtament; onely we Chriſtians add thereto the New, but for the proof thereof, we neither have, nor pretend to have greater outward evidence than the Old: We have alſo for the main, the ſame Moral Law; onely Chriſt hath put a more advanced and refined ſenſe on ſome things there-

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therein. Hitherto then both the old faithful Jew, and preſent Chriſtian agree; and therefore a ſervice ſuited to the Foundations of either Religion (as were the Pſalms certainly to thoſe of the Jewiſh) muſt ſuit the foundations of both.

Secondly, it is conſiderable, that even in thoſe points, wherein the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian Church eſſentially differ, as were for the main, the outward modes and inſtitutions of their Worſhip, ſome temporal promiſes made to them, as objects of their particular Faith, and whatever elſe there is of the ſame nature, even in theſe points, I ſay, the Jewiſh Church was the type and image of the Chriſtian. Their Temple, Altars, Sacrifices and Prieſts, all, though in different regards, figures of our Lord Jeſus our eternal Prieſt and propitiation, as is diſcourſed at large in the greateſt part of the ten firſt chapters of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*; the very land of *Canaan*, the reſt which was promiſed to them, and of which they were once generally poſſeſt, a figure of the Evangelical and Heavenly

eſtate; Nay, their very Political laws, many of them, figurately or reductively Chriſtian. *Thou ſhalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the corn*, was ſaid unto the Jew: that is to the Chriſtian, *He that preacheth the Goſpel ſhould live of the Goſpel.* In fine, it may be ſaid generally of all Gods dealings with them, of the whole *ſeries* and courſe of his providences to the whole Jewiſh ſtate, under all its revolutions and periods, from its very cradle in *Iſaac*, to its funeral in the laſt and fatal flames of *Jeruſalem*, what the Apoſtle ſaith of ſome particulars, *They happened to them for examples, and were written for our admonition.* Now the conſequence of this conſideration is plainly thus much, that foraſmuch as in all typical and figurative ſpeeches (with which, as is evident, the Pſalms abound) there is a double ſenſe, the literal and the interpretate, therefore (1.) if there at any time occur any paſſages in the Pſalms, relating to the ceremonial Worſhip of the *Jewes*, the ſhadow being removed, and the ſubſtance taken, the literal ſenſe looked through,

1 Cor. IX. 9, 10.

1 Cor. X. 11.

through, and uſed as a perſpective glaſs, and the ſignification, as the main object attended, this will be found truly Chriſtian, and fit to employ Chriſtian devotion. And the like may be ſaid (2.) Of the Hiſtorical parts of the Book of Pſalms: perhaps *mutato nomine*, *de te*, apply the paſſages to thy ſelf, and haply it concerns thee moſt intimately. Or if it be of more publick and political nature, the *Jewiſh* ſtate and people were the *Type*, the *Chriſtian* the *Antitype*. Beſides, we know God is not onely to be celebrated in the Aſſemblies of his people, for his late, preſent and private dealings towards us, or our own Countrey, but *for his mighty works of ancient dayes*, and all his marveilous loving kindneſs to the children of men. He *is to be glorified in his Saints, and admired in all them that believe*, and in all thoſe that have believed too. And in proportion hereto, was deſigned *Pſal. CVII*, eſpecially that Ecſtatick *Chorus* of it, *O that men would praiſe the Lord for his goodneſs, and for his wonderful works to the children of men*; to men of all ages and

2 Theſ. 1.10

and Nations, as well as of all conditions or degrees. And *Ver.* the *last*, *Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord*, which certainly is no unedifying, or contemptible kind of knowledge. Hereto may be added (3.) That forasmuch as the Prophesies extant in the Book of Psalms, and delivered to the *Jewes*, have had their completion under and in the Gospel state, therefore if with the prophesie, we together consider the event (as certainly we ought) if we look on what was foretold, as now fulfilled, we have not onely reason, and most urgent inducements, to admire the faithfulness, veracity and power of God, but convincing instances of his providence, of his infinite prescience and omniscience, who knoweth and speaketh of all things to come, as if he saw and described them present; for indeed all things are present to him: And further, we have fresh testimonies of God's greater mercy and dignations unto us, than unto those his ancient people. They lived onely to hear those things promised; to

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us they have been all performed. Now certainly that which is apt, if ſung with underſtanding and due attention, to wrap the devout ſoul into admiration of God's omniſcienee, truth, power, juſtice, mercy and loving kindneſs, not onely in general towards mankind, but particularly to the Chriſtian Church, yea, to a mans own ſelf, is not any unfit matter to be ſung in Chriſtian Aſſemblies: but of this nature generally are the Pſalms. It is plain then, that neither the *Ceremonial*, nor *Hiſtorical*, nor *Prophetick* parts of the book of Pſalms, render them improper for the preſent publick uſe of Chriſtian people in the praiſe of God. Nay, we ſee they are very proper to engage our hearts unto greater fervours of love and gratitude towards God, who fed the Old Church with promiſes, propheſies and types, but us with real performances and ſubſtance.

There remains then now no impertinence, or unſuitableneſs, imputable to the Pſalms thus taken, becauſe they were fitted principally to the Jewiſh conſtitution: And whatever exception,

touching their unmeetneſs, can be made againſt our preſent uſe of them, muſt be grounded on ſome other reſpect: perhaps on their being too peculiarly accommodated to the particular conditions of the holy men their authours; ſometimes importing ſuch profound miſeries, into which the commonalty of Chriſtians do not fall, or at leaſt with which, few or none of the congregation are, while they ſing, either affected or threatned; ſometimes again praiſing God for ſuch mercies, which neither are of a publick nature, nor it may be have been received by one in ten thouſand: again, at another time, expreſſing ſuch vows and tranſports of devotion, which are not incident to common ſouls, and perhaps conſidering them in all circumſtances, to few or none now adayes; And Laſtly, on the other ſide, it may be, proceeding directly againſt the Chriſtian law, by moſt bitter imprecations and curſes againſt Enemies, whereas we are all bound by our Chriſtianity to love, bleſs and pray for our moſt mercileſs perſecutors.

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As to all which I ſay in general, that though all the particular paſſages in the Pſalms, againſt which theſe exceptions are levelled, may not in the ſtrict and literal expreſſions, in which they ly, be exactly appoſite to the particular condition of many private men, nor haply to the common ſtate of the Church, at the critical time of the preſent uſe of them, yet a moderate meaſure of Chriſtian diſcretion will remove theſe inconveniencies, and by a mental application, and ſmall variation of the ſenſe (which in all publick Prayers and Hymns, muſt be allowed to particular mens devotion, otherwiſe it is ſcarce poſſible any form, new or old, ſhould in common ſuit all mens eſtates) bring them down either to their own, or others conditions, with good ſucceſs, and according to the Chriſtian Rule in ſuch caſes. And for evidence hereof, I deſire the following points may be conſidered: and that the rather, becauſe I judge they may not onely remove the imputation we inſiſt on, but alſo ſerve as directions, in the dayly uſe of the Pſalms, for our ſinging with

understanding and true devotion.

First then I say, it is a very gross mistake to think, that the faithful, in the publick Assemblies, are to mind onely their own concerns in the prayers and praises, which they offer up unto God. The *Communion of Saints* is part of an Article in our Creed: and wherein can the scattered members of the Church, all the world over, hold communion more strictly and fervently with one another, than in their prayers and praises each for others, and all in general? The Apostle injoines not onely that *prayers, and supplications,* 1 Tim. II. 1. *and intercessions*, but also, that *Giving of thanks be made for all men*: and our Lord taught us to pray *Our Father*, for the Christian community together with our selves. There is not one *Me*, but all along *Us* in the Lords Prayer. Now that, which suits not with my condition, may suit with the condition of some *I* know, or of thousands of faithful ones in the world, which *I* know not, and perhaps never shall know, till *I* see them in the Kingdom of my Father; and so, if offered up in the behalf

of ſuch unknown Saints, whoſe conditions thoſe Pſalms fit, will neither be impertinent, or unbecoming a Chriſtian, nor without a reward.

Secondly, there is nothing more uncertain, than the condition of men on earth: That which is not my condition to day, may be nearer me than *I* am aware, both as to Spirituals and Temporals. St. *Peter* was zealouſly reſolved over-night, rather to dy with his Maſter, than deny him; and yet before the day broke, he had denied him thrice, and curſt, and ſwore upon it. Holy *Job* was one day a great Prince, ſwimming in plenty, bleſſed with children, a man of great reputation and intereſt; but within a few dayes, a miſerable deſpicable *Lazar* upon a dunghill, neglected, forſaken, or deprived of all, and as it would have ſeemed, of God too. Again on the other ſide, that which is not my condition now, poſſibly has been. Now in regard of this variableneſs, and the viciſſitudes of humane things, it is a miſtake to think, that we are to offer no prayers or praiſes even in our own be-

half, but such as strictly concern our present estate. Our Lord taught us to pray, not onely *not to be led into temptation*, but to be *delivered from evil*; to wit, from the evil of the temptation, from being overcome by it, when led into it. It is certainly prudence, and a kind of Christian good Husbandry, to put up prayers before-hand, which may operate in the changes of our condition: and accordingly our Church most wholesomly provides we should, not onely in the Psalmes but Litanies, *In the hour of death, and in the day of judgment, Good Lord deliver us.* Then as to matter of praise: Does any man think he is to bless God onely, for the mercies he is in that instant tasting, or did but just now receive? Far be such ill memories from Christian gratitude! Our Royal prophet's Harp forgot not the woods and the cave, when it was tuned in a Palace and chair of State. The Petitions therefore and Thanksgivings, which suit not in strictness with my present state, may be pertinent and proper enough for my use, if applied unto what

what possibly may be, or I remember has been my condition: And surely, there is no man of a more unhappy memory in the world, than he who forgets what he has been.

Thirdly, it is to be considered, that as there cannot well befall us any such complicate distress in this life, but still we may perceive some blessings left, and therefore some cause to praise God, at least that it is not worse with us yet, so neither can we well imagine, such a complete union of all felicities on this side Heaven, which supposes not some Christian want; and so there will be still occasion for prayer, if to no other purpose, yet to this, that we may have grace not to abuse such heights of happiness: So that upon the whole, Prayer and Praise (of which two, the far greatest part of the Psalms is made up) let them concern what they well can, will never be unseasonable and improper in our own, or in the Churches behalf; one or both, in one time or other, they must needs meet with.

Fourthly, We are to remember, that

that many of the Psalms were designed onely, or chiefly, as *prophetical songs*, touching our Lord *Christ*, and so concern him immediately, either in his *Humbled* or *Exalted* estate. Such are Psalms *II*, *XVI*, *XXII*, *XLV*, *CX*, and very many more: now these, though they are neither all along pertinent to our own, nor the Churches present or future estate, are notwithstanding very far from being improper Hymns in Christian Assemblies. If our dear Lords sufferings, if his reproaches, scorns and smart, if his wounds and bloud, if his agonies, death and burial, may be forgotten in our dayly singing to him, then let us sing, let us live no longer. But if each particular of them, deserve at our hands ten thousand grateful recollections, praises and commemorations, and as many rivers of grateful tears, then let us not fear to sing to him what he stuck not to undergo for us, the very *afflictions* and *oppressions* of his *soul*, when it was *made an offering for sin*. And if we are not to forget his *Sorrows*, why should we not also though unworthy, sing his *Glories*

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Our praiſes certainly ought to follow him, from his Croſs to his Throne. The Royal Pſalmiſt leads the Ditty, and ſings him ſometimes even fainting under the malice of his Enemies, and in the very *duſt of death*; and anon *ſat at God's right hand, till his enemies are made his foot-ſtool.* Now theſe holy ſtrains, though exceeding what is incident to mortals ſtate, are not yet impertinent in the Chriſtian Worſhip; nay, they perfectly ſymbolize with the primitive practice, they are (*Carmen Chriſto*) immediate Hymns to Chriſt. Pſal. XXII. Pſ. CX.

By theſe four conſiderations it is evident, that none of thoſe Pſalmes, or paſſages of pſalms, which relate either to exceſſive and frequent miſeries or mercies, if duly applied, can be improper for Chriſtian uſe in the Worſhip of God. To proceed then to another ſort of Exceſſes.

Fifthly, as to thoſe complaints, vows, petitions, profeſſions of love and zeal, and all other devotional parts, which import greater affection, fervour and tranſports, than what is commonly incident to moſt men in this

the waining age of Christianity, that these are somewhat improper for us, is our own fault, and so great an one, as certainly needs redress. However, they may be pertinent to others: and tis not fit they should be struck out of the Publick Service, to lower it to some, or many mens dulness. Publick standing devotions, must be suited to all degrees of Christians., that mens graces, of whatsoever height, may have opportunities for their noblest elevations. An humble soul can rejoice, that *David* and others have been thus affected, or have thus vowed, loved and professed, and will reproach it self for its own slackness and groveling state: withall, most easily turning such passages into prayers, that the like holy flames may be enkindled in its self, that it may not ever live a stranger to such raptures of good affection and devotion, and studying that against the next return of these Psalms in course, its heart may be in tune for them, at least, able to take them in some tolerable pitch. It cannot therefore justly be pleaded, that these parts of the

Book

Book of Pſalms, are improper for the preſent conſtitution of Chriſtianity.

Laſtly, as to what remains, that many paſſages, and ſometimes whole Pſalms, are *unſuitable* to the *Chriſtian ſpirit*, and not framed according to the Evangelical law, becauſe containing imprecations, and very diſmal curſes againſt Enemies, there is a double anſwer given by that great *Exemplar* of Learning and Godlineſs, Dr. *Hammond*. (1.) If thoſe Pſalms, or parcels of them, were rendred ſtrictly according to the *Hebrew* Text, they would not appear ſo much imprecatious, as denunciations of miſery and deſtruction to ſuch incorrigible enemies of God, his Church and people, whom nothing will ſtop in their malice but their own fall. And in favour of this interpretation, it is to be conſidered, that *David* was a prophet, and therefore a capacitated and proper perſon to foretell or denounce ſuch mens ruin, both for their own reformation, and for the ſupport of the languiſhing Church. Further, it is moſt certain, that ſome of the Pſalms, which are moſt

Præf. to Annot. on the Pſalms.

obnoxious to this charge, were really propheſies, and are ſo applied by the Holy Ghoſt in the New Teſtament: Two or three of them particularly to *Judas*, as predictions of his character, fall and puniſhment. St. *Peter*, *Acts I*, 16, 17. alluding to that paſſage in *Pſalm XLI*, 9. *My familiar, who did eat of my bread, hath lift up his heel againſt me*, applies it to *Judas*. So as to *Pſal. LXIX*, 25, *&c.* where we read, *Let their habitation be deſolate, and let none dwell in their tents*; And proceeding in the ſame ſtrain, ver. 28. *Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous:* All this by *Acts I*, 20. is plainly to be interpreted of *Judas*, and men of his ſtamp. In like manner alſo *Pſ. CIX*, 8. *Let his dayes be few, and let another take his Office*, in the ſame place is referred to the ſame perſon. And if we read all theſe by the *Future tenſe*, as they ſtand in the Original, thus, *Their habitation ſhall be deſolate, and none ſhall dwell in their tents. They ſhall be blotted out of the book of the living*, &c. And *His dayes ſhall be few*, & *his office ſhall another take*, and

(and not imperatively, as Tranſlatours commonly render them) the caſe is clear. If then thus we take them, theſe paſſages are no wiſe imprecatory, but prophetical. (2.) We are to remember, what has been before ſaid, that the Church and people of the *Jewes* were the image of the Chriſtian: Theſe things are a *Figure*. As the *Jewes* had enemies, with whom they were to make no league, nor ſo much as truce, but utterly to deſtroy them, ſo have we; to wit, our ſpiritual ones. Turn then all theſe Pſalms againſt the enemies of thy ſoul, thine own luſts, the World and the Devil: Pray that thine heart, which they have too long uſurped as their *habitation*, may be for ever hereafter *deſolate* of them, and that none of the ſame kind may ever enter that *Tent*. Thus taken, there can be no doubt of the propriety of theſe Pſalms.

For further evidence, that even theſe kind of Pſalms may be ſung to edification, and Chriſtian advantage, I ſhall produce the judgement, which a worthy and pious Divine (though no great friend to the Church of *England*) gives in the caſe, which haply with ſome men,

will goe farther, than many arguments of mine. Dr. *Ames* then expreſly puts the caſe, *How can we rightly ſing thoſe Pſalms, which contain curſes and imprecations?* To which he anſwers three wayes, each worthy of due conſideration, and as yet untouched by me. "(1.) We may by occaſi-
"on of thoſe curſes, with fear and
"trembling meditate of the dreadful
"judgments of God, againſt the ſins of
"impenitent men. (2.) We may
"thence be built up in patience and
"comfort, againſt ſuch temptations as
"are wont to ariſe from conſideration
"of the proſperity of ungodly men,
"and the afflicted eſtate of Saints. (3.)
"We may alſo together pray God,
"that he would haſten his juſt judge-
"ments (not againſt our own private
"enemies) but againſt the ungodly
"and incurable enemies of his Church.
Let theſe three Anſwers be put to the other two, and Chriſtian practice be regulated accordingly, and we can never ſing any imprecatory Pſalms, but with happy advantage, and conſiſtency with our Saviours precept, or the Evangelical ſpirit.

De conſcien. lib. 4. c. 19. p. 4.

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But will ſome ſay, how are divine *threats*, or even *promiſes* themſelves, with which the Book of Pſalms is full, *matter* of divine *praiſe*, or fit to employ a Chriſtian Aſſembly engaged in *ſinging* to God?

I anſwer (has God given precedents of this nature, indited by his own Holy Spirit) and by his providence ordered his people ſhould be inured to the practice of them, nay, and approved this practice, by declaring his acceptance of it in Holy Writ, and ſhall man interpoſe, queſtion, or controle what is ſo plainly authoriſed by the divine pleaſure? The Song of *Moſes* has frequent both promiſes and threats in it: & as to the main body of it, is rather partly reprehenſory, partly didactical, than any wiſe Euchariſtical. The ſame muſt be acknowledged too, touching a conſiderable part of the Book of Pſalms. The very titles להודיד משכיל & ſuch like, import, that this was not caſual, or befel through any miſtake or indiſcretion of their Authours: they were formally & fundamentally deſigned to ſuch purpoſe. And all this comports well with the Apoſtolical

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precept, *Teaching and exhorting one another in Psalms, &c.* In a word, we must not be self-will'd, conceited, singular and humourſome in our devotions: To *frame our minds* and affections to thoſe *divine forms*, which God hath ſet us, is certainly an *holy conformity*. Is not God terrible in praiſes? *Is* he not glorified, when men fear before him, when repeating and believing the denunciations of his wrath againſt ſin, they tremble at his judgments, and being afraid at his diſpleaſure, flee the cauſe of it (that is ſin) as a deadly ſerpent? Now what more proper to beget this temper (to imprint ſuch a fear of God upon the heart, that it may not depart from him) than the uſe and conſideration of divine threats? Again, can we give unto God greater glory, than that of Faith and Hope? *Abraham*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *being ſtrong in faith, gave glory to God, not ſtaggering at his promiſe.* And what more proper to draw forth ſuch Faith, than that the divine promiſes ſhould dwell in our joyful lips, and be ſung before God in his dayly praiſes. Beſides, while we

Rom. IV. 20.

ſing

ſing them thus with Faith, we plead them to God, and (as in the Titles of ſome Pſalms, להזכיר as if deſigned, *To bring to remembrance* even God's Word to himſelf) we become in a ſort *God's remembrancers*, both in our own, and his Churches behalf. Can we well imagine a more profitable, a more comfortable ſervice?

I have thus reckoned up all the improprieties or impertinences, *I* could find, or deviſe, againſt the preſent uſe of ſinging *David*'s Pſalms in our Chriſtian Aſſemblies. *I* have anſwered the imputations in their full force, and *I* truſt *I* have ſhewn how ſuch paſſages, or ſuch Pſalms, which are cenſured, or obnoxious to be cenſured, as moſt improper, may be of very heavenly uſe, if ſung with underſtanding, attention, faith, and due application. *I* hope then *I* may now leave the preſent uſe of theſe Pſalms, in the poſſeſſion of its authority, the ſum of which is this: They were indited by the Holy Ghoſt for the uſe of the *Jewiſh* Church, which in its foundations was the ſame with the Chriſtian, and in its

very peculiarities a figure of it: The law of Nature requires, that the singing praiſe unto God, ſhould be one part of his publick ſolemn Worſhip; and the Chriſtian law requires, that thoſe, who undertake its profeſſion, ſhould exceed rather, than fall below the *Jewiſh* ſtándard of devotion: *Speaking to one another in Pſalms, and Hymns, and ſpiritual Songs*, indefinitely is preſcribed by the Apoſtle: *Speaking* or *ſinging alternately*, as it was an old uſeage, ſo ſeems there inſinuated; and beſides, it has been found ſerviceable mutually to quicken and excite the reciprocate affection of the parties ſinging. Upon theſe inducements, Holy men, neer the eldeſt ages of Chriſtianity, thought good to introduce the ſinging theſe Pſalms (as being undoubtedly of *divine inſpiration*) and particularly this way of ſinging them: Ancient Biſhops & Governors of the Church approved, ſet up and injoined the practice within their own Churches: Synods and Councils more generally eſtabliſht it by their Canons: *It* has now the preſcription of thirteen or fourteen hundred

dred years in the Catholick Church: It is reinforced by the Laws of our own Church, and there is abundant reaſon for the continuance of it, from its particular conduciveneſs (as we have ſeen) to all kinds, parts and degrees of Devotion. Now thoſe, whom this account ſatisfies not, I fear will ſcarce be able to give ſo good an one, for any form of Worſhip, not ſet down in expreſs terms in the New Teſtament, and together there, by the ſame letter, commanded.

After this large and particular diſcuſſion of the reaſonableneſs of ſinging *David's* Pſalms, I ſhall not judge it neceſſary to ſpeak any thing touching our ſinging other Scripture-Hymns; the ſame plea much more ſufficing for theſe, which is now preſumed to have carried the cauſe for them, and they being of much more eaſie accommodation to our Chriſtian concerns. That then which next offers it ſelf to conſideration in our Cathedral practice, is our *Anthems*. And here truly I muſt acknowledge, I apprehend it eaſier to give a ſatisfactory account of the *Thing*, than of the *Sect.* 7.

Name. Greek it must certainly be, as to its first Origin: But by what Analogy of Language, Ἀντίθεμα (a word no where, that *I* know, used, yet naturally enough importing as much as, τὸ ἀντιτιθεμένον) should be made Ἄντυμα, or how Ἄντυμα from ἀΐδω, or even Ἀνάδημα should come to signifie a Christian Hymn, with any tolerable violence, *I* am equally to seek. Nor will the Ἄντυμα in *Athenæus* (παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ὀρχήστις τις, though it be μετὰ λίξεως) in my judgment at all found an Etymology in the case: So that *I* confess fairly, *I* find no such Greek word of this, or a cognate signification, in any Authour, sacred or profane. Which makes me rather conceive, those modern Languages, whence immediately we have taken the name, have occasioned our corrupting it, from *Antiphon* (which the *French* have made *Antienne*) or from *Anthymn*, which is neerer in sound to the Italian *Anthema*, and our *Anthem*: now admitting either of these, but especially the later, we have a name, in my opinion, suitable to the nature of the thing, and which leads us to the

Lib: 14. cap: 7.

the genuine notion of it. For I take an *Anthem*, to be nothing elſe, but an *Hymn ſung in parts*. It differs from what we call *Reſponſories* (ſaid to be found out by the *Italians* very anciently) in that therein, according to the old uſe, *Unus Verſum dicit*, one ſinging the Verſicle (with us, in Plaineſt ſong) the Quire anſwers their part, either in the ſame way, or in more artificial Symphony; and that theſe are ſhort, conſtant or continuing ſtill the ſame: whereas the Anthem is much larger, of various and more ſolemn form, and has uſually greater curioſity and diverſity of parts. The parts indeed are fewer or more, according to the pleaſure of the Compoſer: and ſometimes ſingle Voices, ſometimes leſſer *Chorus*'s, ſing interchangeably and are anſwered by the *Chorus omnium*, or full Quire. Even the ſubject matter, and the Form too is very different amongſt us, not onely in diverſe Churches, but even in the ſame Church; it ſeeming good to the prudence of thoſe, who have power in this caſe, to frame, or direct the framing

Iſidor: Orig. l. 5. c. 19. Rab: Maur: Inſt: Cleric: l: 2: c: 51.

new Anthems, either ſuitable to ſome new emergent occaſions, or for making the Service of God more grateful and inviting to humane weakneſs, which is apt ever & anon to be affecting ſomething new. Now though the curioſity of the Muſick in this caſe be (as we have ſaid) a practice not of very many Ages, yet whatever elſe, as far as I ſee at preſent, there is herein, is of very ancient uſeage. We have ſeen St. *Ambroſe*'s practice and inſtitution above: He certainly both compoſed new Hymns of his own, and ſet up the ſinging of them in parts, as far as the ſtate (and poſſibly the skill) of his people would admit: And whence he took his pattern, has alſo been ſpoken. The *Antiphons* of the old Church, ſaid to be firſt found out by the *Grecians* (though haply the greateſt reaſon, which the *Ritualiſts* have to ſay ſo, is becauſe the name is *Greek*, whereas the thing was an *Hebrew* uſe) were certainly but old-faſhioned Anthems. And thoſe Ninety ſix Hymns, before-mentioned, in *Breviaries*, *&c.* are nothing but Anthems, eſpecially when

when ſung in the Anthem-way. I know indeed, the preſent *Antiphons* in the *Romiſh* Church, are clear another thing. *Uſu receptum eſt, ut ſententia quæ Pſalmum aut Canticum præcedit,* Antiphona *dicatur.* And as to their way of ſinging them. *Inchoantur ab uno unius Chori, & ad ejus Symphoniam cantatur Pſalmus per duos Choros, ipſâque Antiphonâ conjunguntur ſimul duo Chori.* But that Church muſt be acknowledged to have a ſingular art of introducing *new practices* at pleaſure, and glorioufly guilding them with *old* and venerable Names. Waving therefore this innovated kind of *Antiphons*, I ſay, it has certainly been, from the very Primitive times, cuſtomary, and may now juſtly be accounted preſcriptory, for the Fathers of the Church, Godly Biſhops, to frame, or order the framing, Holy Hymns for publick uſe in the Service of God, as in their pious diſcretion and grave counſel, they ſhall judge fit: and theſe Hymns, if ſung in parts, *reciprocis & alternantibus modulis*, as now of long time the uſe has been in the Chriſtian Church,

Durand. de rit. l. 3. c. 17

Gavan. in rubt. Brev. Sect. 5. c. 7.

are

are moſt naturally what is meant by the old appellation *Antiphons*; they are truly *Anthymns* (which though it be a newer name, more fitly expreſſes the thing ſpoken of) And this I take to be both the Original, and true nature, of our Anthems.

Having therefore ſo great Patronage for this practice, as to the general, in Antiquity, let us now conſider what there is peculiar in our Churches uſe. As to the Muſick of our Anthems, I have ſaid enough already: as to their matter and form, theſe are the points, as yet very much untouched. And here I could wiſh, *I* could have found a Law for my guide, or could have taken ſome light from any publick conſtitution, ever of force in this behalf: But whatſoever we have of a Sanction relating to this matter, ſuppoſes Anthems as in uſe, and onely directs in what part of the Daily Office they ſhall ſucceed [In Quires, and in places where they ſing, here followeth the Anthem] neither preſcribing, nor ſo much as directing, of what materials and frame they ſhall conſiſt. We

Rubrick after the third Collect, Morn. and Even.

must therefore have recourse to some good practice, and make precepts, generally, is this: The Masters of the Church-musick choose some Hymn or Psalm, or Sentence also perhaps out of any other Canonical Book of Scripture (according as best fancies their Musical fancy) which they set to several Melodies, as they can; and these thus composed, when they have practised, and got perfected by the Quire in private, they cause to be sung in the publick Service, in the place by Law prescribed for the Anthem, and take it as a new Anthem. What I judge in the several particulars fit to be regulated or controlled in this practice, I shall speak in the next Chapter; here only more generally my design leads me to consider, what matter and form is most proper for Anthems. And here I humbly beseech all, who shall please to give themselves the pains to read this; and chiefly, with all dutifulness, my Superiours, that they will not interpret what I write beyond my intention, or as exceeding the quality of my station, and

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Rubrick after the third Collect, Morn. and Even.

must therefore have recourse to common practice, and that at present, generally, is this: The Masters of our Church-musick choose some short Psalm or Psalms, sometimes also portions out of any other Canonical Book of Scripture (according as best suits their Musical fancy) which they set to as curious Melodies, as they can; and this, thus composed, when they have tryed, and got practiced and performed by the Quire in private, they cause to be sung in the publick Service, in the place by Law prescribed for the Anthem, and then 'tis a new Anthem. What I judge in the several particulars fit to be regulated or controlled in this practice, I shall speak in the next Chapter; here onely more generally my design leads me to consider, what matter and form is most proper for Anthems. And here I humbly beseech all, who shall please to give themselves the pains to read this; and chiefly, with all dutifulness, my Superiours, that they will not interpret what I write beyond my intention, or as exceeding the quality of my station, and

as if I took upon me to adviſe, preſcribe or dictate to thoſe, from whom I ought to take Rules. I ſhould with all ſubmiſſion entertain ſuch Rules, were they given: but *I* neither know that the Church, or any the Governours thereof, have determined or directed any thing in this caſe, and *I* am (as well as many others) too ſenſible, that there are great indecencies daily committed, and matters very unmeet introduced into the publick Lauds of the Church, by reaſon that our Church-compoſers generally want that deep judgment in *things ſacred*, which they have in *ſounds*. Now the due deſigning and contriving the divine praiſe, being a duty of ſuch moment, and this preſent point therein being, as far as I know, untouched by any, I truſt I ſhall not deſerve cenſure, if with all ſubmiſſion I propoſe my thoughts herein, which poſſibly I may conceive my ſelf ſeveral ways regularly enough obliged and authoriſed to do.

To the point then: *I* have ſaid, I take an Anthem to be, in its true nature, an Hymn: now it being of the eſſence

eſſence of an Hymn, that it contain the praiſes of God, we may ſoon conclude of what ſubject-matter our Anthems ſtrictly are to conſiſt. Whatever moſt plainly, directly, and becomingly imports the praiſes of God, is moſt proper for an Anthem, and nothing elſe: now ſuch paſſages of ſpeech alone, immediately import the praiſe of God, in which we either deſign to *ſpeak worthily* of him, or *confeſs and vow unto* him; and moſt properly the former ſort. Touching God, we can ſay nothing that we ought, but it muſt either concern his Nature, or his Works; what he is, or what he has done: and all, which he has done, relating either to his Making, Conſerving, or Governing the World, we are brought to this iſſue, that whatever words are primarily fit for an Anthem, muſt either celebrate the infinite Majeſty, Goodneſs, and Perfection of God, or elſe give him the glory of his Works of Creation and Providence. And this later Head of Providence muſt not be ſtrained too far, or to ſuch remote matters, wherein we are generally un-

concerned: for by ſuch means, the act of Worſhip, by us thus paid, will be leſs proper, or our own; for that both our hearts are apt to be leſs affected with thoſe things, which are far from concerning us, and beſides, for thoſe things, which do more neerly concern us, we more ſtrictly owe expreſs lauds, thanks and gratitude. Now of paſſages of this nature, we may in Scripture obſerve three ſorts. (1.) Some directed immediately to God, by way of an actual addreſs to his Majeſty: ſuch are thoſe in the Pſalms, *O Lord our God, How excellent is thy Name in all the earth! Thou haſt ſet up thy glory above the Heaven.* And, *O Lord, thou art very great, thou art cloathed with honour and majeſty*; with a thouſand more: In the New Teſtament, *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou haſt created all things, and for thy pleaſure they are, and were created*, and the like. In others (2.) the ſpeech is turned to our ſelves; and that either ſingly, by way of Soliloquy ſtirring up our ſelves to the praiſe of God; as,

Pſal. VIII.

Rev. IV. 11.

Awake

Awake up my glory, awake Lute and Harp, &c. *Bleſs the Lord, O my ſoul, and all that is within me bleſs his Holy Name*, &c. Or, as ſuppoſed, uttered amongſt a community, either Categorically and plainly, as, *Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praiſed, & his greatneſs is unſearchable:* or Hortatorily & Optatively, as, *O come let us ſing unto the Lord, let us heartily rejoice*, &c. And, *Bleſſing, and glory, and power, and might be unto our God for ever and ever, Amen.* A third ſort have the ſpeech directed to other men, or other things, calling upon, and as it were conjuring, all ſpoken to, to join mightily in the divine praiſe. Thus *Pſal. CV. O give thanks unto the Lord, call upon his Name, make known his deeds amongſt the people. Sing unto him, ſing Pſalms unto him, talk ye of all his wondrous works:* Like forms occur, in a manner, all over the Book of Pſalms, eſpecially in the four or five laſt. Now all ſuch words as theſe, are primarily fit for Anthems.

Pſal. CXLV. 3.

Rev. VII. 12.

But will ſome ſay, Are no Anthems of more doleful and lamentable contents to be allowed? Is not grief, con-

trition, and ſorrow for ſin, to be ſtirred up thereby? I anſwer, though I do not conceive penitential Pſalms to come under the name of Hymns, nor to be therefore very proper for Anthems (plain and ſimple modulation, and which ſavours more of compunction & remorſe, than curioſity of Muſical Art, rather becoming them) yet ſuch paſſages as are reducible to *Confeſſions* and *Vows* (the ſecond member of the firſt propounded diviſion) as they muſt be acknowledged meet enough for Anthems, ſo they are very pertinent & proper to ſuch purpoſes. Care onely here muſt be had, that ſuch words be pitched on, which are moſt intimately proportionate to the Chriſtian ſtate, and which expreſs ſuch confeſſions and vows which Chriſtian men may be ſuppoſed both ſincerely to make, and through grace able to keep. And to this purpoſe it may be expedient, to pick here and there ſuch portions, as are moſt ſuitable to the preſent circumſtances, and not to take either one whole continued Pſalm, or (without regard to the ſenſe) ſuch parcels onely as ſeem more apt to fall into Muſical graces.

Now

Now for my confining the ſubject-matter of Anthems, within ſo narrow bounds (and eſpecially, and moſt commonly, within the compaſs of the firſt member of the Diviſion) I have ſeveral reaſons to produce, which whoſo conſiders, haply will be of my mind.

Firſt, This is moſt conformable to the Original pattern, whence Anthems either really were; or are pretended to have been taken; and that is, the Angels ſinging, as in parts, to God. In *Iſaiah*'s Viſion (whatever fabulous there is in that of *Ignatius*'s) it is certain the *Seraphims cried one to another, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hoſts; the whole earth is full of his glory.* And all generally who write touching the Origin of *Antiphons*, which were (proportionably) the ſame in the Old Church, as Anthems are with us, affirm this to be the precedent, whence they derive. Now in all the Angelical Hymnes, or thoſe of the bleſſed Saints in glory, extant in Scripture, the contents are conſtantly Laudatory; not excepting that (*Luke II.* 14.) which ſeems to connote ſomething of a charitable intent towards

wards Mankind. Secondly, the moſt natural deſign of Anthems, which may be preſumed, is to pay to God a more ſolemn, heavenly, and exalted act of Worſhip: and then, why ſhould we not immediately ſing *Of* him, or *To* him? Why ſhould we go round about, and employ our ſouls onely upon divine ſubjects at large, not coming at God in our thoughts, but onely indirectly, & by the interpoſition & conſecution of many other conſiderations? Thirdly, The ſubjects ſpecified, muſt be acknowledged to be moſt naturally proper for all Pſalms, & therefore moſt eſpecially for thoſe more choice ones, which we call Anthems. *Is any merry*, ſaith the Jam. V. Apoſtle, *Let him ſing Pſalms.* The moſt natural *end* of Pſalms or *ſinging*, as to any effect on *our ſelves*, is *Holy joy* and *gratitude*: And then as to any other ends which either regard *other men*, or even *God* himſelf, whether we look on ſinging as deſtin'd to excite in others the *like thankfulneſs*, which we by ſinging expreſs in our ſelves, or to pay to God a more *cheerful* and ſolemn tribute of *Praiſe*, what is there,

which

which more naturally comports with all theſe deſigns, than the conſideration of God, his nature, excellence, benefits, and all his works? Eſpecially, where ſuch conſideration is, as occaſion ſerves, intermixed with holy confeſſions and vows, as above ſuppoſed. It is true indeed, a multitude of *David*'s Pſalms are of other argument; and we have proved even thoſe fit to be ſung: but that not ſo much in their own nature, as by reaſon of humane infirmity, and for our own advantage, more than Gods glory. Thus the Pſalmiſt indited Prayers to be ſung, but that onely to quicken our dulneſs, and make us more attentive, affectionate and fervent therein: and ſo too Doctrines of Faith and manners, as alſo threats, and promiſes (as the *Druids* did their Chronicles, and ſome old Nations, they ſay even their Pedigrees) to the intent the ſweetneſs of ſinging drawing men to frequent repetition of them, they might more fully be learnt and digeſted, more faithfully retained in memory, more deeply imprinted in the heart, and have due effect: And ac-

cordingly in compliance, with the Holy Ghosts design, we do daily sing such matters, in the course of singing *David's* Psalms. But when we shall be advanced above this state of imperfection, though even then we shall sing still, yet shall we no more sing *prayers*, for we shall want n thing which we may ask; nor *Doctrinals*, for we shall be no longer to learn; nor *Promises*, for we shall be possest of all promised; much less *threats*, for we shall be past the need, as well as misery of terrours: but we shall sing Gods *Excellencies* and *Works*, we shall *acknowledge* our own vileness in order to advance his glory, as the Elders are represented *casting their crowns before the throne*; and if we may not be conceived *vowing*, we shall (which is in effect the same) be inceſſantly exercising an habitual resolvedness, to persevere in praising and loving God to Eternity. These therefore must be esteemed the meetest subjects for us to sing to God, because, by divine appointment, they are at present far the greatest part of what we sing, and hereafter will be solely, as far

Rev. IV.

as

as we know, the total ſumme. To theſe reaſons, though others might be added with great facility, yet I ſhall judge enough ſaid to juſtifie the reſolution above given.

It remains, that it be now conſidered what Form is meeteſt for Anthems, abſtracting from the ſubject-matter, namely, whether Proſe or Verſe. As to matter of preſent practice, it is ſure our Anthems are moſtly Proſe: and the reaſon hereof, *I* conceive to be the cautioneſs of our Church-compoſers, who, leſt the words of their Anthem ſhould be excepted againſt, generally chooſe expreſs paſſages of Scripture. *In* the mean time it cannot be denied, but that the Old Anthems, that is, the Hymns compoſed by the Old Fathers for publick uſe in the worſhip of God, and ſung in way of Antiphons, were moſtly verſe of ſtrict meaſures, as hath been ſufficiently made out. *In* imitation of which pattern, *I* humbly conceive, that in our Chriſtian Hymns or Anthems, we are not, and ought not to be bound up to the expreſs words of Scripture, and eſpecially not of the

Old Teſtament. A great part of Scripture in general, but eſpecially all Scripture-poetry (as is the Book of Pſalms, whence our Anthems are moſt commonly taken) is full of alluſions and references to the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, which though it be, as we have ſaid, very uſeful when duly applied, yet to have the praiſes of God always conceived and ſung in expreſſions, which concern Chriſtianity onely at ſome diſtance, is not ſo meet: Beſides, that there are many things writ in a kind of cloſer and more naked way, wanting in a Tranſlation thoſe ornaments which originally they had; ſo that to relax the ſtyle by a prudent paraphraſe, would make all fitter for popular capacities, and more apt to move affections: eſpecially, if put into Poetical form, which is generally fitter for Muſick, than Proſe, and falls into it with more raviſhing ſweetneſs, where the Compoſer underſtands the graces both of Muſick and Poetry, and brings both happily to meet, and ſet off one the other. *I* will humbly give an inſtance: *It* is commonly ſung in an Anthem, *Praiſe him with*

the

the ſound of the Trumpet (and then our Muſicians dally with that word *Trumpet*, repeating it, for meer ſake of the Notes, till it become nauſeous) *Praiſe him with the Pſaltery and Harp.* Suppoſe, in ſtead hereof, we were to ſing, compoſed Muſically, according to the grace of the Verſe, and with ſuch melodious interchanges of Parts and Voices, as the words naturally ſuggeſt, thus in a Paraphraſe;

Together ſtrive, who ſhall exalt him moſt,
What inſtruments the fitteſt are,
Whether of Love, whether of war,
Shrill Trumpets, or ſoft Harps to praiſe
the Lord of Hoſt!

Mr. Sam Woodford. Pſal. 150.

Trumpets, and Harps, ſhall in one conſort move,
The Cornet and the amorous Lute,
The Cymbal & the warlike Flute;
For he, who is the Lord of Hoſt, is God of Love.

Whoſe devotion muſt not needs ſoar higher, when carried on ſuch lofty

wings, of Poetry and Melody, both so divine? Nor is there wanting a precedent in this case, given by our very own Church. The *Veni Creator*, or Hymn appointed to be sung, by way of Antiphon, in the Office of *Ordination of Priests*, and *Consecration of Bishops*, is strict Verse. And though those Texts of the New Testament appointed to be used on Easter day, in stead of the *Invitatory*, be expressly called an Anthem, or Anthems, yet we may conceive the reason of the diversity, why one is Verse, the other Prose, to be this; the later being translated originally out of Prose, the Church thought good to retain the same Form (besides, that being substituted in the place of the *Invitatory*, it was to consist of such passages, for which Prose possibly might be conceived fitter) whereas the other being translated out of Verse, it was thought meet to put it in a Poetical Form. Though therefore we have thus from the Church a precedent in each way (and consequently, both are by her adjudged meet) yet it seems to be the mind of the Church, that what Originally was Verse,

Rubrick for Morn: Prayer. Rubr: on Easter day.

Verſe, ſhould (at leaſt, at diſcretion might) in our Anthems be Verſe ſtill. But of Poetry, in offices of Divine praiſe, more anon.

In the mean time, there is one practice in our Cathedral or Choral uſe, of which juſtly ſome account may here be expected, namely, of what we call *Voluntaries*. Hereby we mean ſome Arbitrary (and commonly Extemporaneous) Leſſon, or flouriſh upon the Organ alone, beginning for the moſt part in grave, plain Notes, and then proceeding in counterpoint, and afterwards in diſcant through the ſeveral parts interchangeably, as the fancy of the Organiſt ſuggeſts, till having maintain'd what points he pleaſes, as long as he thinks fit, he comes to ſome graceful cloſe. The uſe hereof, is either immediately before the Service begins, and while the chief of the Congregation are entring and taking their places, or betwixt the Pſalms and the firſt Leſſon: or Laſtly, in ſome places betwixt the firſt and ſecond Service, while thoſe, who officiate at the Communion-ſervice, are going up to the Altar. Now hereof *I* ingenuouſly con- *Sect. 8.*

teſs,

ſeſs, *I* can find little or nothing in any ancient or conſiderable Authours: and *I* conceive the practice to be a new Ornament, deſigned to make the Service of God more ſolemn, the minds of people more ſerious, and to take off or drown that little ungrateful huſh or ruſhing murmure, which the ſtirring of ſo many people at ſuch times, and in an Aſſembly muſt occaſion. *I* really believe, the firſt ground hereof was taken from that practice of the Prophets, and inſpired perſons under the Old Teſtament, of whom we read, that at ſundry times, when they deſign'd to ſtir up the ſpirit of Propheſie within them, they called for Muſicians, and made them *play before them.* Thus the company of Prophets came down from the High place with a *Pſaltery, and a Tabret, and a Pipe, and an Harp before them, and they propheſied.* Their minds being hereby quickened, and their intention raiſed towards God, the inſpired principle in them began to move (as we have ſaid) in the Divine praiſe. *It* is remarkable, that inſtrumental Muſick alone is there made uſe of,

1 Sam. X. 5.

of, as a means to awaken their inſpired ſouls. But that paſſage of *Eliſha* is yet more clear: Being conſulted by *Jehoram* a wicked King (who in time of peace ſought onely to the Prophets of *Baal*, and never, till neceſſity drove him, to the prophet of the Lord) touching proviſion of water for the parched and periſhing Hoſt, he was much diſturbed, and anſwers to him, *What have I to do with thee? Get thee to the prophets of thy Father and Mother.* Upon his ſecond importunity, and good *Jehoſhaphat*'s jointly, he becomes more compliant, though his reply ſtill ſpeaks the commotion of his mind. *As the Lord of Hoſts liveth*, ſaith he, *before whom I ſtand, ſurely, were it not that I regard the preſence of* Jehoſhaphat *the King of* Judah, *I would not look toward thee.* However, as yet he was not in a condition to help either: for, ſay the *Hebrew* Doctours, the שכינה, the immediate preſence of God, and divine inſpiration, enter not into a mind diſturbed with paſſion; and therefore the Prophet added at the next word, *ver.* 15. *But now bring me hither a Minſtrel, And it came to paſs,* 2. King III. 13.

when the Minſtrel played, that the hand of the Lord (the ſpirit of Propheſie) *came upon him, and he ſaid, Thus ſaith the Lord*, &c. On which paſſage, it is not amiſs to take with us the Gloſs of a great Scholar in this kind of Learning.

Munſter. in Loc.

Afferte mihi Pſalten, qui ſcilicet inſtrumenti melodiâ auferat perturbationem animi, & tumultuarias in me ſedet cogitationes, quæ Prophetiæ non admittunt ſpiritum. "Bring me (ſaith he) a Muſician, who by the ſweetneſs of his inſtrument, may remove this perturbation of mind, and appeaſe theſe tumultuous thoughts of mine, which ſuffer not the ſpirit of Propheſie to move in me. And this being done, περὶ τὰ ψάλλοντα Ἐνθέου γενόμενος, as *Joſephus* expreſſes it, *being inſpired at the voice of the Muſick*, he directs a miraculous courſe for their relief. It appears then, that the uſe of inſtrumental Muſick, ſingly and without Voices or Pſalms joined thereto, for the raiſing the ſoul towards God, for the quieting tumultuous paſſions, and begetting a ſedate, ſerious temper, fit to receive divine impreſſions, has very antient pre-

precedents in Holy Scripture. And though I am not able to give an account how and when it came in to our Church, yet finding it there, and used onely, either immediately before the Congregation engage in acts of Worship, to compose them, and to strike a reverence and aw upon their spirits, as to what they are going about, or else in some little interstices and intermissions of Worship, for taking off disturbances, and keeping mens minds in a grave, serious and reverential temper, I see not that it is at all blame-worthy, but rather useful, commendable, and fit to be retained: for, that it has these effects, I am well assured there are thousands of serious people can testifie; and to exact a particular command or precept in Scripture for a practice of this nature, is as reasonable, as to require a Text for having convenient Churches, or decent places to assemble in, for having seats in Churches, or cushions to kneel or lean upon, or for any such useful accommodation and honest advantage of divine Worship. I therefore for the present dismiss this point,

and together the whole Cathedral use of singing, as having other place, according to the method I have propounded, both to answer objections, and to give such further caution as I judge needful.

Sect. 9. The *Parochial* use, of Singing though much more obnoxious than the Cathedral, has yet more escaped blame; and is much better approved (indeed strangely doted on) by those of our Nation, who dissent from our Church: for no other reason more, that I can imagine, but that the one is of the Churches constitution, the other is purely the peoples creature, and of their own voluntary takeing up. In our Parochial Assemblies nothing commonly is sung, but some parts of the Book of Psalms, as they stand butcherd into *English Metre*. I do not condemn *Verse* in this case, which I have both before preferred to prose, in point of singing to God, and am ready further to commend: but such Verse as this, generally,

Nec dii, non homines, non concessêre columnæ,

the

the very *ſtones in the walls*, if ſenſible, would cry out againſt. The device of putting the Pſalms into *Metre*, the learned and induſtrious *Dr. Heylin* tells us, was "firſt taken up in *France*, by one "*Clement Marott*, one of the Grooms "of the Bed-chamber to King *Francis* "the firſt; who being much addicted "to Poetry, and having ſome acquain- "tance with thoſe, who were thought "to have enclined to the Reformation, "was perſwaded by the learned *Vata-* "*blus*, Profeſſour of the *Hebrew* Tongue "in the Univerſity of *Paris*, to expreſs "his Poetical fancy in tranſlating ſome "of *David's* Pſalms. For whoſe ſatis- "faction and his own, he tranſlated "the firſt fifty of them: and after, fly- "ing to *Geneva*, grew acquainted with "*Beza*, who in ſome tract of time tran- "ſlated the other hundred alſo, and "cauſed them to be fitted unto ſeveral "Tunes; which thereupon began to "be ſung in private Houſes, and by de- "grees to be taken up in all the Chur- "ches of the *French*, which followed "the *Genevian* platform. That *Marot* was the firſt which attempted the Hiſtor. of Reform Pag. 131.

putting *David*'s Psalms in *French Metre*, I easily consent: and this must be about the year 1546, if by *Vatablus* his perswasion: but of an essay and design to put the Psalms into Vulgar *Metre*, I have somewhat an earlier precedent to produce. In the year 1524. *Luther* thus writes to *Spalatinus* touching this matter. *Consilium est exemplo Prophetarum & priscorum Patrum Ecclesiæ, Psalmos vernaculos condere pro vulgo, id est, spirituales cantilenas, &c.* "I intend, saith he, "after the example of the prophets and "ancient Fathers of the Church, to con-"trive for the common people, psalms "in their mother-tongue, that is, spi-"ritual songs, that the word of God "may dwell amongst the people, even "in singing. I am therefore every where "looking out for Poets: and seeing "you have great command of, and ele-"gance in, the *German* Tongue, by rea-"son of your long use thereof, I desire "you, that you would labour with "me in this matter, and try to trans-"late some of the psalms into Verse fit "to be sung, as here you have an at-"tempt and pattern of mine. Now I would

Apud melch Adam in vit. Luth.

"would have all new and courtlike ex-
"preſſions declined, to the end, that,
"according to the peoples capacity,
"moſt plain and uſual, yet cleanly and
"fit words may be ſung, and that the
"ſenſe may be rendred clear, and yet as
"near as may be to the pſalm. We muſt
"therefore here uſe freedom, and ta-
"king the ſenſe, leave the words, ren-
"dering them by other fit words: I
"have not ſo much grace of ſpeech, as
"to be able to effect what I would in
"this kind: I therefore will try if you
"are an *Heman*, or an *Aſaph*, or a *Jeduthun*.
Thus *Luther*, whoſe endeavours and attempts in this caſe were, as we ſee, above Twenty years elder than *Marot*'s: but in imitation, as he ſayes, of the *Prophets* under the Old Teſtament, and of the Ancient *Fathers* under Chriſtianity. Which, that it is true, namely, that the *Ancient Fathers*, as well as the Prophets, compoſed Hymns for the people in *verſe*, and that the whole body of the people, as well as ſome ſelect perſons making up a Quire, uſed Vocally to join in the publick ſinging ſuch Hymns to God, we have had abundant evidences, and I think

think undeniable ones. To *Luther's* judgment, that Verſe was fitteſt for the peoples ſinging, *I* will add *Peter Martyr's*, who treating of Church-muſick and ſinging to God, not onely defends *Poeſie* (when uſed as it ought) but adds a ſingular commendation of it. By its very *Original*, he aſſerts it to have been of *ſacred* deſign. "The Ancients, ſaith he, when they would "either by common Votes pay God "thanks, or impetrate any benefit "from him, were wont to uſe certain "ſolemn Verſes or Poems. And after inſtances given in ſeveral kinds, by ſeveral Nations, he proceeds, *Cantus autem, etſi per ſeſe hominum animos oblectat, attamen cum illi Oratio ſubjicitur, quæ ſit numeroſa, & pedibus quibuſdam alligetur, &c.* "Now ſinging, ſaith he, "though ſingly and of it ſelf "it delight mens minds, yet when ſuch "ſpeech is added thereto as conſiſts of "numbers, and is bound to certain "feet, as we ſee Verſes are, it be-"comes much more ſweet: And ſuch "truly was the Original of Poetry: "nor can *I* deny it to be a gift of God;

Loc: Com. Claſſ: 3 Lor: 13 Sect. 25.

but

"but this *I* could wish, that amongst "mankind it might be kept pure and "chaſt. He proceeds, ſetting forth how ancient and frequent the uſe of it was in the Jewiſh Church; and touching the reception and uſe thereof in the Chriſtian, we have ſpoken already more abundantly.

The judgment of Mr. *Calvin* in this caſe, may be concluded from the practice of *Beza*, of which partly account has been given already, and more might be ſaid out of his own works: for that ſo conſiderable a practice, as the rendring or ſinging *David's Pſalms* in *metre*, ſhould be ſet up in his Church, without his approbation, no man that knows of what ſpirit he was, will ever imagine. Though therefore I cannot ſay, that ever any projected the putting *David's* Pſalms particularly into *metre*, for the common people to ſing, before *Luther*, yet that he did attempt it, and other of the Reformers proceeded by the ſame pattern, and therefore approved the practice, is evident; as alſo, that both the Antient *Fathers*, and the *Reformers*, did conceive *verſe fit* for the

Beza Tract. Theol. vol. 1. p. 654.

publick and *ſolemn praiſe* of God, and the later, at leaſt, *prefer* it.

The reaſons hereof we may conceive to be (1.) The precedent, which the Holy Ghoſt gave in this caſe, inditing the praiſes of God in old Hebrew verſe: which ſacred Poems to render meerly word for word into the proſe of the modern languages, may poſſibly ſeem to ſome not ſo much to *tranſlate*, as to *metamorphoſe*, and in the worſe ſenſe to *traduce* & diſguiſe them. Such ſtripping them of their *native glories*, and making onely their *naked ſenſe* and *inner ſubſtance Engliſh*, or of any other like Tongue, while we allow that ſenſe nothing at all of the *graces* of ſuch Tongue, into which it is tranſplanted, for the *adorning*, or ſo much as it were *skinning* and *colouring it over*, is only after a ſort to make *Skeletons* of them, and naturalize thoſe, not their goodly Original ſelves. *To ſupply the loſt excellencies of another language with new* (and ſuitable) *ones in our own, is*, in the opinion of a very great Judge in this kind, the *leaſt juſtice* we can do, to pieces of ſuch ancient and admirable perfection. Though the e-

Mr. Cowley: preface to Pind. Odes.

therefore as the Psalmes are part of the *Canon of Scripture*, and of the Rule of Faith, they ought to stand in our Bibles (as they do) literally translated, yet when they become choice publick Hymns to be sung in the divine praise, it seems fit they should, as neer as can be, be asserted into their primitive glory, though *in a strange land*, & borrowed language. And (2.) The secret, and it may, unaccountable sweetness, & ravishing power of Poetry, which there is scarce any Nation so barbarous, that hath not given some attestations to. Some delightful objects only affect the sensual, others only the intellectual part. But when divine poetry, and graceful singing and musick do concur, they do *Totum hominem rapere*, transport the whole man, and lift the devout soul, in a manner, above it self. It is not easie to imagine in this case, what external advantages can be added unto these. I only lament, that whereas there are sundry excellent Versions of the Psalms in our Mother-tongue, which have designed this restoring of Holy *David's* poetry to its self, and in many psalms

respectively have well effected it, yet there is none made up out of all, or complete, fit for publick use, and authorised.

Sect. 10. As to that which is at present in use in our Parish-Churches, it is as much destitute of authority, as it is undeserving of any priviledge or approbation from it. I find no reason to discredit the account, which Dr. *Heylin* gives of the methods and degrees by which these Rhythms grew into so general request and practice. "Being first allowed (saith he) "for private devotion, "they were by little and little brought "into the use of the Church: permit-"ted rather, than allowed to be sung "before and after Sermons; afterwards "printed, and bound up with the *Com-"mon prayer-book*; and at last added "by the Stationers, at the end of the "Bible.—*And further, soon after.* "At "first it was pretended only, that the "said Psalms, should be sung *before and "after Morning prayer*, and also *before "and after Sermons*; which shews they "were not to be intermingled with the "Liturgy. But in some tract of time, "they

Hist. of Refor. p. 127.

"they prevailed so far in many places,
"as to thrust the *Te Deum*, the *Benedi-*
"*cite*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc*
"*dimittis* quite out of the Church.
This was their height; which to what
party our Author ascribes due, I speak
not. But as to any stamp of authority
upon them, take the same persons
words. "Though (saith he) it be Ibid.
"expressed in the Title of those singing
"*Psalms*, that they were *set forth and*
"*allowed to be sung in all Churches before*
"*and after Morning and Evening prayer,*
"*and also before and after Sermons*, yet
"this allowance seems rather to have
"been a connivance, than an approba-
"tion: no such *Allowance* being any
"where found, by such as have been
"most industrious and concerned in the
"search thereof. And certainly if not
so much as *Allowance* to be found for
them, then much less any Law: so that
I may safely say, any Minister may le-
gally dismiss or lay them aside in his
Congregation, that pleases (though I
do not conceive an equal liberty or pow-
er to substitute others) and it would
be both prudence and piety so to do,

would the people be satisfied without them, or were we impowered to introduce a better Version in their room. Upon the whole then, it must be concluded, the present parochial use of the Psalms (thus perverted and mangled) rather than translated, is a necessary concession (*pro hic & nunc*) to *popular* will: and it is to be hoped, that some short time, and due meanes, may make the people wiser, and Reformation in this point easier.

Sect. 11. How much such Reformation is to be desired and endeavoured, will appear from the gross mischiefs and *abortions* of devotion, which are generally the inevitable consequent of our common singing these Metres; part whereof are founded in the very Translation it self, and part in the ordinary method of using it.

The Translation it self is so miserably peccant, that it is not easie to imagine any fault incident to Translations, which does not ever and anon occur in this. I presume the account of the common vices of Translations, given by the learned Mr. *Weemse* of *Lathoquar* in *Scotland*,

Christian. Synag. l. 1. ch. 5. parag. 4.

may

may pass allowed with all whom I have to deal with. "A Translation, saith "he, must not be *servile*, *luxuriant*, "*barbarous*, *contentious* (which he ex- "plains *non sensum*, *sed Etymologias ver- "borum interpretans*) not *affected* nor *mu- licious*. Of all these faults in this, I could produce plentiful and very frequent in- stances (and some anon in most cases follow) saving only that I cannot be so un- charitable to the ashes of the authors, as to suspect, much less to charge them of malice: they had undoubtedly an honest intention; but as to us, the con- sequence is the same.

—*Quid refert ferro pereámne ruinâ?*

What has befallen in other Translati- ons through the malice of those authors, comes to pass almost in every Psalm through the unskilfulness of these, the Original and *genuine* sense is noto- riously misst or perverted. Then for the *Poetry*, none can easily be more faulty. Their being at a strait for a Rhythm, makes them at any time vio- late sense, Grammar, and all proprie- ty of speech, nay speak dishonourably or ridiculously of God himself. I can-

not

not expect ſome men ſhould digeſt what *I* ſay here, except *I* ſet down ſome few inſtances of many, to make good this charge: in the very threſhold we find frequent ſtumbles (a very ill *omen* of the ſucceſs.)

Pſ. 1. 1. *The man is bleſt that hath not bent*
To wicked read his ear.

Not one man of a thouſand, that ſings this, underſtands it. *I* have heard many pretty Gloſſes what ſhould be the ſenſe of a mans *reading his ear to the wicked*; whereas the word *Read* here, muſt be taken to be a Noun ſubſtantive, and ſignifie *Leſſons* or *Doctrine*, in which ſenſe for ſome centuries of years it has been much unuſual. *Bending a mans ear* is
Ver. 3. almoſt as uncouth. Then who can endure, except in Buffonry, or in a Ba-
Ver. 5. lade, *A trees due time and tide*, and *in judgment ſtand upright*? But this is elegancy in compariſon of what follows in
Pſ. 11. 7. the next Pſalm.

For in this wiſe the Lord himſelf
ver. 9. *Did ſay to me, I wot.* —And
Thou ſhalt them bruiſe even with a mace,
As men under foot trod.

I

I will pass by the *servility* of *ver.* 12. which perverts it into non-sense, or what is scarce intelligible, and advance a little farther into the book; for possibly some may think, more of practice might improve our Poets. But alas! they are all along constant to their strain. *Psal.* V. *v.* 6. there wanted a syllable to the verse, and another necessary, but very difficult accomplishment called a Rhythm: the word to be Rhymed to is *man*; in comes *than*, and against all possible sense and reason, the verse runs;

Thou shalt destroy them than. Ps. V. 6.

I have passed the excellent rhythming of *consider* to *prayer*, ver. 1. (parallel to *Another of the same*, *Psal. LXXVIII.* 4. where *after* must rhyme to *wonder*, & in the same Psalm, ver. 46. *Caterpillar* to *Grashopper*) having met with a trick or two to bring terminations to better chiming: For examples sake, the Verse to be rhymed to is, *His arrows keen and sharp*, Ps. VII. 13. that quaint phrase will do the feat, *While he doth mischief warp*; and 'tis a new and neat metaphor, and, for ought I know, just then came out of the

Loom. To omit other passages in our way; this old hag *Necessity* riding us again, we are at a loss for ā Rhyme to
Ps. IX. 16. *mark*: well, let the *o* in *work* go to wrack (and the business is done) *Ly trapt in his owu wark.* But if this will not do, as sometimes it will not, then we must even force words out of their sense.

Psal. X. 17. *Their hearts thou wilt confirm until*
Thine ears to hear be prest.

That is, if we read according to the Original, *Thou wilt prepare their heart, thou wilt cause thine ear to hear.* To admirable purpose then these *metres* were, as it is said in their Title-page, *conferred with the Hebrew*; where undoubtedly too was found *the Field which called is Taneos* (the Genitive case of Tanis, (a word framed by the *Greek Septuagint*, or *Chaldee* Paraphrast) very barbarously retained by the Vulgar Latin as a Nominative) for *the field of Zoan.* Well, but the
Ps. 78. 12. word *prest* is an elegant serviceable word, and therefore we must have it again within two verses of the place where we last found it.
Ps. XI. 2. *Behold the wicked bend their bow,*

And

And make their arrows preſt.

I had almoſt overlookt another flower, which grows very near this ſame. *How dare ye then, Say thus my ſoul until?* ver. 1. Theſe words may ſeem good enough to treat wicked men in, but ſure of God, or to God, we may expect more proper language. However, either we have it not about us, or that mercileſs Fiend Rhythm will not ſuffer us to afford it. Ver 1.

For now my foes which vexed me
The Lord will ſoon defame. Pſ. VI. 10

Not unlike to this phraſe, is that,

Lord at thy wrath and threatening,
And at thy chideing chear, &c. Pſ. 18. 14.

Shall we now hear a deſcription of the Majeſty of the divine appearance?

On Cherubs and on Cherubims,
Full royally he rode.

That is, *On the ſame, and on the ſame.* Here is admirable *conferring* with the *Hebrew*, and much the Collators underſtood an Hebrew Plural. But let the ſtate proceed. Pſ. 18. v. 10, 11.

And like a den moſt dark he made
His hid and ſecret place.

Whether alſo what I next produce, be

ſpoken with more manners or propriety let all men judge.

Pſ. XX. 3. *And ſo receive right thankfully*
Thy burnt offerings each one.

According to the plain import of the words, though not according to the authors intention, as I believe, *Take thy offerings and be thankful,*

Thus much out of the firſt Twenty Pſalms, for a taſt of *T. S.* his Poetical vein: onely I will add, I ſcarce know one Pſalm of his ordering, out of which more, or worſe ſtuff than this might not be produced. I have omitted many paſſages, becauſe ſufficiently in every bodies mouth. But ſurely may ſome think, his partner *J. H.* had better luck: Let us then take the firſt pſalm of his handling, and 'tis a pſalm of an excellent ſubject, and proper to fill Chriſtian mens mouths; but rendred unfit for uſe, by reaſon a middle verſe of it is made into intolerable barbarity or Non-ſenſe.

Pſa. XXIV. v. 6. *This is the brood of Travellers,*
In ſeeking of his grace:
As Jacob *did the Iſraelite,*
In that time of his face.

Nor

Nor is he at all inferiour to *T. S.* in his elegant and proper juncture of words. We will take a few instances. In his next Psalm, we have a graceful passage;

Mine eyes wax dim, my sight doth fail,
My womb for woe doth ake. Ps. 31. 9.

Certainly people might be very *merry* at singing *these Psalms.* Again v. 24.

Be strong, and God will stay your heart,
Be bold and have a hast.

But not to trouble my Reader too far: there is one Psalm which is alone sufficient for instances of this nature, namely *Ps: LXXVIII*, and which will satisfie any who reads it, that I do not unjustly censure *J. H.* his Poetry;

He raind down Manna for them to eat,
A food of mickle wonder. ver. 24.

Fisum teneatis? Would not a man take this for a Northern Ballade? Nor does he handle God with more proper and decent expressions;

For why, as stones thy strength is try'd.
Of which not one word in the Original. Ps. 31. 2.
What is his goodness clean decay'd, Ps. 77. v. 8.
For ever and a day?

And,

Gods mighty hand can help all this,
And change it when he luſt.

Again,

Yea many a time he turnd his wrath,
Pſ. 78. 38. *And did himſelf adviſe:*
And would not ſuffer all his whole
Diſpleaſure to ariſe.

I will not weary my ſelf, nor Reader any farther. Theſe inſtances I preſume amply ſuffice to evince, that no man of ſenſe or any tolerable education can ſing theſe *metres* as they ly (except they be a little pickt and culled) with devotion, and that the very Tranſlation it ſelf muſt needs flatten or nauſeate mens minds in this Heavenly exerciſe of *ſinging* to God.

This will be more apparent; if we conſider the Ordinary method of uſing it. The *Pariſh-clerk* (a perſon commonly of as little judgment as moſt of the people, but of much more conceitedneſs and pertneſs) chooſes any Pſalm, that he has an humour for, that is many times, any that firſt comes to hand, which he knows, and can fit a tune for: this he dictates out of the book, line by line, and the people ſing it broken-

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ly, in such petite and imperfect shreds. Now herein are many mischiefes, of which the least is not the *Clerks imprudent choice:* He oftentimes shall begin in a broken sentence, with a causal, or illative, or such like clause; where for want of what went before, the act of judgment, or the perception of the subject matter and sense, being miserably incomplete, such needs must be all their devotion, who sing. This evil is not seldom occasioned by the division of the Psalms into *First* and *Second* and *Third Parts:* For it must be acknowledged, those who modelled them into this frame, having regard onely to the strict quantity of four or five staves, which they thought neither too much nor too little to be sung at one time, indiscreetly made such lame partitions of them. That will be evident by any slight inspection into the book. To omit precedent instances: the Eighteenth Psalm is divided into five parts; the second and fifth begin each with a copulative clause thus, *And like*, &c. *And still like*, &c. The third with a discretive *But evermore*, &c. And as if the mischief men-

tio-

tioned did not occur too frequently by this means, it having of later years been found too tedious to ſing alwaies one of thoſe whole partitions at a time, there is occaſion of ſubdiviſions, and thoſe made at the pleaſure of the Clerk; ſo that as things ſtand in moſt of our Pariſh-Churches, 'tis three to one but theſe our publick Hymns to God, begin with imperfect ſenſe. If we ſhould eſcape this rock, 'tis ſtill as great odds, but the ſame perſons imprudence drives us on another: A Pſalm not proper enough to the Chriſtian ſtate, and which concerns not at all the divine praiſe, but ſome other particular remoter ſubject, ſhall be proclaimed to be *ſung to the praiſe and glory of God*; and the abuſed Congregation ſhall *in his praiſe* ſing *confuſion to their foes*, that is, in effect many times, direful imprecations one againſt another.

But admit we have a more prudent Pariſh-Clerk (which God forbid but in ſome places we ſhould have) or that he is directed and over-ruled in this caſe by the Miniſter, yet the *Giving of the Pſalm* (as we uſually term it) occaſi-

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ons the same loss or stumble to devotion, as before: the lines are so very short, and the sense of one so runs into the sense of the next, & that it may be into a third, that we must stay many times till the people have sung two lines, and the Clerk has read three, or both more, before we can comprehend what is the design of that sentence, the greatest part of which, notwithstanding we are supposed to have already sung to God; now in so long a suspense of the mind, how it can possibly frame such distinct and pertinent thoughts, as in this Heavenly act of Worship ought to employ it, let any person of reason judge.

After all, admit we could avoid each of the mentioned inconveniencies, yet the meer *irregularities* and discordant jarrings of the multitudes singing, in most places, so grates the ear, as that it is very difficult even for the best, the most prudent and charitable men, to be devoutly conversant in this so necessary and ravishing part of Gods service. They are St. *Augustine*'s words, and and not purely an objection of mine. *In choro cantantium quisquis voce discrepa-* In Psal. 149.

verit, offendit auditum, & perturbat chorum. "Dissonant and clashing voices in "a Quire, offend the hearing, and di-"sturb the whole Quire. Now in our Parish Churches none being hindred to sing (neither young nor old, serious nor vain, nay, scarce fools & madmen) but all weak and Pharisaical persons thinking, they then sing best when lowdest, doth it not daily come to pass, that one part of the Assembly squeaks, another roars, a third chatters, &c. and scarce one in ten sings so much as in a decent, grave and reverent tone? From all these grounds, how many ungrateful disturbances of devotion do arise, it is not easie to comprehend or state: so various unhappy junctures do occur in our present parochial practice, and so frequent are the occasions of miscarriage!

Sect. 12. Now before we can come to consider what particular redress may be applied (especially in this last case) it is necessary we lay one foundation, as well to justifie a certain particular means of redress, which we shall anon direct, where it is to be had, as for the full vindication of our Cathedral practice: and that is,

is, some satisfactory evidence for the *use of instrumental musick* in the *publick Worship* under the *Gospel*. Touching this we must enquire, whether it be *lawful*, and whether it be *expedient*, in the present, I mean, the *Evangelical* state.

The former of these I should not have thought necessary to have been asserted by any solemn proof (for it seems to me to have intrinsecal natural clearness enough in it self, to approve it self to every mans reason) but that it has been gainsayed by some persons of great piety and learning, and therefore deservedly of great authority in all the Reformed Churches. Wherefore the onely *proof* conceive, it needs will be the *removal of the reason*, on which they build their plea of its unlawfulness, and that is purely this supposition, That the instrumental Musick used of old in the Jewish Church, was meerly a matter of *ceremonial institution*, and belonged to the *Judaical Pædagogy*; no more therefore to be followed or practised by us under the Gospel, than their *Circumcision*, *New moons*, *Sacrifices*, and the like points of their Worship. This

has been affirmed by Mr. *Calvin*, as we have already ſeen, by *Peter Martyr* (whom yet we have found elſewhere commending expreſly Church-muſick, whatever he meant by the name) and diverſe other moderns; & indeed it ſeems inſinuated by *Aquinas* himſelf in the place before-mentioned, & an elder author. In anſwer whereunto, though it might ſeem ſufficient to ſay, it is (*Gratis dictum*) magiſterially ſaid, without reaſon aſſigned for it, & they who *affirm'd* it, or do *affirm* it, by all *law* ought to *prove* (which I do not ſee to be poſſible in this caſe, nor have yet found fairly attempted) yet I ſhall propoſe ſuch evidences, as may as fully evince the contrary, as a *Negative* can well be proved.

In comment. in 1. ad Cor. 14

Onely it will be neceſſary (in order to the making our way plainer) to premiſe that all circumſtances of Worſhip, or modes and *Ceremonies uſed* by the *Jewes*, were *not purely Jewiſh* & *legal*, but ſome of *natural* right, and fit to all ſtates of the Church. The *Jewes*, for inſtance, uſed to pray *kneeling*, and *lifting up their hands*, and moſt times *eyes*; which poſtures, though evidently but

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ceremonies and circumstances of prayer, yet he, who will say they are *Judaical* and unfit for Christian Worship, because used by the Jewes, must condemn not onely St. *Paul*, and the whole Christian Church ever from the beginning, but even our Lord Christ himself. In like manner, the Jewes used to *fast*, which is but an appendage of divine Worship, yet is not fasting therefore peculiar to the ceremonial, but also proper for the Christian people. The same may be said of their *Weekly Sabbath*, plainly asserted to be ceremonial (*Col.* II. 16.) which yet we do not doubt to copy in our Lords day. It were endless to reckon up all instances that might be alledged of this nature: The result then, in a word, is, That these modes and appendages of Worship, which genuine reason and natural fitness dictated to the Jewes, are not to be esteemed purely Jewish ceremonies, or belonging to the legal Pædagogy, but (*ceteris paribus*) fit for all ages of the Church. And of this nature do I contend, the use of *instrumental* Musick in the Worship of God amongst them to have been: And

for proof hereof I say,

First, it is of the essence of a *Jewish* or *legal ceremony*, that it be *significative*, or a *Type* of somewhat to come to pass, or to be done, under Christianity: And those things, which have an intrinsecal aptness and efficacy to excite devotion, may not be accounted Jewish ceremonies, but natural and (as occasion serves) standing helps of divine Worship. Now if any will affirm instrumental Musick to have been purely legal and ceremonial, what will he assign in Christianity, as the substance of this shadow? Will he take up *Clement* of *Alexandria* his forc't allegories in this case, and say? The *Decachordum* or instrument with ten strings, signifies the name *Jesus*, because the first letter of it Originally stands for *Ten*. And that the *Psaltery* denotes the *Humane tongue*, and the *Harp* the *Humane mouth*, which is moved by the spirit of God, as the Harp is struck by the hand. These things will not pass now, though they seem'd pretty to an age, which turn'd the very History of the Creation into Allegories. (And yet I shall shew presently,

Pædag. l. 2. c. 4.

Vid. Orig. in Gen. 1.

that

that not even *Clement* himself disallowed *instrumental Musick* in the praise of God.) Or, as to the other point, if any will deny the *natural aptness* of such Musick to calm inordinate affection, to beget a divine temper, to draw forth the mind in love of God, and contemplation of pure and heavenly goods, to lift it up above earth, and, in a manner, above it self, how will he answer the experience and consenting suffrages of Mankind. It were easie to produce amongst the Heathen, many known passages of *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Tully*, nay, of those severer men, *Solon* and *Lycurgus*; the Collections of *Strabo*, *Macrobius*, and especially of *Quintilian* in this point. The case of *Saul*, when prophesying, the advice his wise men gave him, when the evil spirit should come upon him, the effect of his following their advice, together with what has been above touched of the Old Prophets, sufficiently speak the sense of the Jewes; and more might be added out of *Philo*. And that the Christian world never conceived otherwise of the power of Musick is evident both from the practices of the

Geogr. l. 10. c. 11. In somn. Scip. l. 2. c. 3. Instit. l. 1. c. 10. 1 Sam. 16. 16. De victim: offeren.

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Ancient Fathers, refining and accomplishing Church Musick by degrees, according as times would admit, and as the needs of the Church did require (of which an account particular enough has been already given) and from particular Texts of theirs, several of which have been already produced, and many more might be added: As St. *Cyprian's*, *Proiectat auris religiosæ mulcedo*; St. *Basil's* comparison of God, in his providential contriving of divine Mysteries into Psalms to be sung by the people, to a wise Physician, and the τὸ ἐν τῇ μελῳδίᾳ τερπνόν, *the delightfulness of the melody*, and τὸ προσῳδίας ἡδὺ καὶ λεῖον τῆς ἁρμονίας, *the soft and smooth notes*, to those *sweets* wherewith medicines are made up to make them more grateful, and gently efficacious; St. *Austin's* acknowledgment of *the tears* which the *Churches sweet singing the Hymnes and divine Songs* drew from him. (*Quantum flevi in Hymnis & Canticis suave sonantis Ecclesiæ tuæ? &c.* Touching which passages, and diverse others, though it may be said, the Fathers spake onely of Vocal Musick, there being then no other in publick Holy use amongst

Epist. l. 2. ep. 2

Homil. in Ps. 1.

Confes. l. 9. c. 6.

amongſt Chriſtians, yet (*firſt*) it is plain, the words of the Teſtimonies (of the two firſt, at leaſt) are very indefinite and comprehenſive of all muſical ſounds whatſoever, and are therefore atteſtations of the power and uſefulneſs of muſick in divine matters; and, Secondly, they all hold (*à fortiori*) touching our preſent uſe: that I will prove by ſetting down ſome of thoſe wonderful effects, which the author of *Quæſt. & Reſponſion. ad Orthodox.* in *Juſtin Martyr's Works* attributes to ſinging. Ἡδονὴ πολὺ ψυχῶν εἰς ζέσιν ἀπόσον, *&c.* "It cheers the "mind into a fervent deſire of what is "celebrated in ſong: it allaies all paſſi- "ons that riſe from the fleſhly part: it "drives away the thoughts which our "inviſible enemies caſt in. Many more paſſages of like nature, both there, and in the Homily of St. *Baſil's* but juſt now cited, were, I confeſs, ſpoken touching ſuch Muſick as was then in the Church, that is Vocal. But ſuppoſe people now to ſing with due attention and underſtanding, inſtrumental muſick being adjoined both to govern and help their Voices, muſt not all theſe Qu. 107.

Elogies of the virtue of Church-muſick be much more verified touching ſuch accompliſht ſinging, than touching that meaner way? Of this *I* may truly avow, what *Luther* does of muſick in general, if he be not miſalledged by *Sethus Calviſius* (for not finding that Epiſtle in *Luther*'s Works, I can onely ſpeak it at ſecond hand) *Scimus muſicam Dæmonibus etiam inviſam & intolerabilem eſſe.* "No Devil can ſtand be"fore ſuch muſick. Nay, ſaith he, *Planè judico nec pudet aſſerere, poſt Theologiam eſſe nullam artem quæ poſſit muſicæ æquari.* "I am fully ſatisfied in my "judgment, nor am I aſhamed to aver "it, that, Divinity excepted, there "is no Science which can match muſick; *I* ſuppoſe he meant as to its divine operations on the mind of man. And *I* really perſwade my ſelf, there is ſcarce any man void of prejudice, whoſe natural temper can be ſo odd, as not to have ſome experience and ſenſe of the power of muſick in general: Much deeper impreſſions then, muſt ſuch muſick as *I* plead for make on all, were it not ſtill, *I* ſay, for prejudice. To all this

Ad Senſilium muſicum.

this I might add (what has been noted by diverſe before me) there can no reaſon be aſſigned, why inſtrumental muſick ſhould be ceremonial, and Vocal not: Either neither, or both, muſt be part of the Jewiſh Pædagogy. The later our adverſaries will not allow; let them therefore be juſt to their own reaſons, and diſclaim their aſſertion touching the former. *I* conclude then, that both were introduced (as we ſhall preſently ſee, at Gods direction) into divine Worſhip, not as types, figures, or Jewiſh ceremonies, but as outward helps, and natural advantages of ſpiritual devotion. Mr. Hook Eccl. Pol. l. 5. Dr. Heyl. &c.

It is a further proof hereof, Secondly, that the inſtitution of inſtrumental muſick, and of the Jewiſh Quire, was much of later date to the delivery of the Levitical Law, and the ſealing up the ceremonial Canon by the hand of *Moſes*. Not onely the *Moral* Law, but the משפטים and the חקים, *The Judgements* and the *Statutes*, that is, the *Judicial* and the *Ceremonial* part were compleated and conſigned by *Moſes*. *Hearken, O Iſrael, unto the ſtatutes,* Deut. IV. 1, 2.

and XII. 32. *and unto the judgments, which I teach you. Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall you diminish ought from it.* A new point of *Jewish ceremony* (purely I mean such) might not be made; and if any thing of that nature seem to have followed in the Prophets, it was onely an explication of *Moses* his institutions, and no new institution of it self. Now after this consignation of the Judaical law, and so of the ceremonial Worship, by *Moses*, there had passed neer 550. years, before any Quire was ordained, or instrumental musick introduced among the Jewes: for this fell into the quieter and more settled part of King *David's* reign, *After that the Ark had rest*, saith the Text: (1 *Chron.* XV. 31. and *Chap.* XVI. 4.) and is therefore by *Ezra*, by way of eminency, called the *Ordinance of David King of Israel*, though the institution hereof were not purely by him: for *the word of the Lord* in this behalf *came not by him alone*, but by other contemporary prophets. Thus we read, 2 *Chr.* XXIX. 25. *The Levites were set in the House of the Lord with cym-*

Ezra III. 10.

cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, *and of* Gad *the King's Seer, and of* Nathan *the prophet; For so was the* commandment of God *by his prophets.* And though we find but three prophets here spoken of, yet by how many more this institution was confirmed, we know not: for even *Asaph* was a *Seer* (2 *Chr.* XXIX. 30.) and *Jeduthun* the Kings *Seer* (chap. XXXV. 15.) and *Heman* undoubtedly inspired also: and this same, or somewhat relating to it, is called *the commandment of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun*, in the place last mentioned. From all which passages it is evident, both that this institution came from God, and that this, and no other, was the critical season, whence it is to bear date: and consequently, it will be very unreasonable to make that a part of the ceremonial law and worship, which came not into the world, till so considerable a tract of time after the consignation, reception and practice of that law and worship.

To this argument, I see not what pre-

tence of an anſwer can be made, except it ſhould either be ſaid, that *Moſes* did not fully deliver the ceremonial law (which is very unreaſonable, and beſides intolerable in them, who contend he perfectly delivered the law *moral*, and withall contrary to diverſe paſſages in the New Teſtament) or that ſome inſtrumental muſick in the worſhip of God, though not ſo great variety, was ordained before this time, and that by the very letter of *Moſes* his law. Now in this behalf I cannot divine what ſhould be challenged, except haply the *ſilver trumpets*, which the *Prieſts the ſons of Aaron*, and they alone were to ſound: and this pretence if it be made, I except againſt, as utterly void of truth. For let the law touching theſe *Trumpets* be examined, and we ſhall find, that though they were deſigned to different uſes, yet the paying any praiſe, or proper act of Worſhip unto God by ſounding them, was not in any of thoſe uſes included or intended, any further than we may be ſaid indirectly and interpretatively to praiſe or worſhip God by every common act we

we do in obedience to him. The place is, *Numb.* X, from v: 1. to 11. In the ſecond verſe we find two uſes of them expreſly ſet down, both *civil*; they were to be ſounded for *calling Aſſemblies*, and for the *journeying of the campes.* Theſe two, together with the different ſounds for each, are explicated and defined in the ſix following verſes. In the ninth verſe a *military uſe*, for *blowing and Alarm*, is aſſigned. The tenth verſe ſeems to preſcribe ſomething of a more *ſacred* uſe, but that very impertinent to our caſe. *In the day of your gladneſs, and in your ſolemn daies, and in the beginnings of your months ye ſhall blow with the trumpets over your Burnt offerings, and over the ſacrifices of your Peace offerings, that they may be to you for a memorial before God.* They were to be ſounded on publick ſolemnities and Feſtivals, for notifying to the people theſe Solemnities, and the offerings made thereon. To theſe uſes, and theſe alone were the *two ſilver trumpets* (and but *two* they were) appointed and limited: nor can any more reaſonably or naturally be concluded either

ther from the law in this caſe, which *I* have faithfully repreſented, or from the Jewes practice in obedience thereto. The affixing them to the *Prieſts*, ſo that none might *blow with theſe trumpets*, but the Prieſts (*ver.* 8.) does not at all help the matter: For it is moſt rationally and judiciouſly obſerved by Maſter *Calvin* in this regard, that "God there-"by onely deſigned to root in the "minds of the people a deeper aw and "reverence in all publick actions, *Ut cunctis actionibus præiret ſacerdotum autoritas*, "That they ſhould enterpriſe "no publick affairs without the autho-"rity of the Prieſts, and ſo of God. And for this reaſon he juſtly reduces this *law* of the ſilver trumpets, to the firſt commandment of *Having no other gods*. Therefore, ſaith he, "they "might not hold publick aſſemblies, "except called thereto by the *Prieſts* "ſounding the Trumpets, that they "might regard God in all ſuch aſſem-"blies, and learn all aſſemblies were "accurſed, which were not called ac-"cording to Gods Ordinance. For the ſame reaſon, as he proceeds more at large,

Harmon. in 4 libr. Moſ. ad Præc. prim. in fin.

large, they might not go to war, but receiving the alarm from theſe Trumpets; that ſo raſhneſs and private revenge might never draw them into battel, but onely due and approved cauſe. And as to the words of promiſe annext thereto, *And ye ſhall be remembred before the Lord your God, and be ſaved from your enemies*; theſe are a further proof hereof, and as much as if it had been ſaid, When you go to war thus duly called forth by God, it appeares you act in obedience to him, fighting, as it were, under his Banner, and with truſt and dependance upon him; he will therefore be mindful to preſerve ſuch his confiding and obedient ſubjects. The ſame ſtill, according both to reaſon, and the judgment of the ſaid authour, was deſigned by God in appointing the Trumpets to ſound on their Feſtival Solemnities, and over their *Sacrifices:* "they might not ap- "point Feſtivals at their own will, nor "offer according to their own pleaſure thereon. (*Id perinde fuit, ac ſi palàm faceret Deus nullos ſe probare dies Feſtos, nec ſibi placere ſacrificia, niſi præeunte ſuo* Ver. 9.

mandato. — Authoritas præscribendi fuit penes sacrorum ministros) They were to expect Gods commands from his Priests, and when they met together according to his prescript order (thus signified to them) and offered accordingly, *Their Feasts and their Sacrifices should be for a memorial before God,* "He would regard their Offerings, "and remember the Offerers with his "fatherly loving kindness.— *O si sic omnia!* An excellent commentary, and such, which, as far as I am able to see, exquisitely reaches the whole intent and the very words of the Text! We have then here no instrumental musick in the Worship of God prescribed, according to the judgment of Master *Calvin.*

vcr. 10.

No more does the *Feast of the Trumpets* (Levit. *XXIII.* 24.) belong to this cause. For that was, say the *Hebrews*, onely a memorial of *Isaac*'s being delivered from the altar, and exchanged with a *Ram.* The same also they say of the Feast of the *Jubilee* (Levit. XXV. 9.) and of the sounding the Trumpet thereon (though that was

Vid. Munster. & P. Fag. in locum utrumq;

doubt-

doubtleſs to proclaim it) Wherefore the Trumpets which they ſounded on both theſe ſolemnities, were not the *ſilver* Trumpets of the Sanctuary, but others made of Rams horns, ſuch as were uſed at the fall of the walls of *Jericho*. And their doctrine and practice in theſe caſes, they ground hereon, that יובל of old with them, and יובלא ſtill in Arabick, according to their Rabbies, ſignifies a Ram.

Upon the whole then, it is plain, *Inſtrumental muſick* in the worſhip of God was not preſcribed by the Ceremonial Law. There are indeed ſome footſteps of the uſe of it upon a publick triumph, in thankſgiving to God, ſome months before the Law given; which the *natural fitneſs* of the thing, and poſſibly ſecret *inſpiration* (for ſhe was a *prophetes* that begun it) might ſuggeſt, and that precedent in like caſes might ſometimes after be drawn into practice: But it never was a Divine Ordinance, nor became a ſtanding Church practice, until Davids time; nor can therefore be a branch of the Ceremonial Inſtitutes. Exod. XV. 20

Thirdly, To him that rightly, and without prejudice weigheth the matter, I doubt not but it will appear, that *instrumental musick* (so used, as I plead for) is not onely helpful unto us, exciting the heart, and enlarging the affections in the Worship of God, but that it is by a *natural aptness*, congruity, and some kind of *justice, becoming* certain more solemn parts and performances of that Worship; particularly I mean the publick Office of *singing* to God. That we are to sing to him, is granted on all hands: the issue then or point in controversie, seems to be in truth onely this, Whether when we sing to God, we are to sing *well* or *ill*? Harmoniously, and with a sweet consent of voice, as well as heart, or with such jarrings, confusion and disorder of Tones, as may make men even *loath the offerings of the Lord*? No man can be presumed to be so void of reason and justice as to say, Men may innocently for their own or others delight and diversion, sing well and regularly; but when they sing to God, 'tis no matter what disorder there be in their voices;

and

and diſorder generally there will be, if inſtruments may not be allowed. The Scripture however gives the caſe on our ſide: *Make ye his praiſe glorious*, *Pſal. LXVI. 2. Sing unto him a new ſong, Play skilfully with a loud voice*, הטיבו נגן Make good play, (or *make ſweet melody*) on the harp, as *Iſa.* XXIII. 16. To which, a multitude of places out of the Pſalms might be added. And it is certainly as reaſonable, that we ſhould praiſe God *in the beſt ſort* we can, as *with the beſt member which we have*, to uſe the words of the old Verſion. *In a word*, ſo neceſſary are inſtruments for the making up Harmony, and accompliſhing publick ſinging, & ſo fit, & eternally due to the divine praiſe, are ſuch accompliſhments, that even in Heaven, the Quires of the *Bleſſed* are repreſented, as if they not onely uſed Tongues, but Inſtruments, to thoſe their *Hallelujahs*. In St. *John*'s Viſions, *the four and twenty Elders fell down before the lamb, having every one their harps*. And when the *Lamb* appeared on *Mount Zion*, and his pure retinue of *an hundred and fourty and four thouſand, which follow the*

Pſ. 33. 2.

Pſal. CVIII. v. 1.

Rev. V. 8.

Revel. XIV. 2, 3.

Lamb wherever he goeth, I *heard*, ſaith St. *John*, *The voice of Harpers harping with their harps. And they ſung as it were a new ſong before the Throne.* They alſo *who had the victory over the beaſt, and over his image, and over the number of his name* (ſuch, I hope, were not Popiſhly affected) *had the harps of God in their hands: and they ſing the ſong of* Moſes *the ſervant of the Lord, and the ſong of the Lamb.* I do not conceive, that theſe things were real, or thus materially tranſacted in Heaven; but theſe are the images and reſemblances, moſt naturally approaching to, and by which we can beſt underſtand, what is done there: and if the *Holy Ghoſt* thought fit thus to repreſent to the Chriſtian Church, the pattern of the *Heavenly* praiſe, it cannot be unlawful for us on earth, with reverence and decency, to conform thereto.

Rev. XV. 2, 3.

Fourthly, The ceremonial Law was given onely to the Jewes, to be obſerved by them till the coming of the *Meſſiah*: But not onely Jewes but Gentiles, all peoples and Nations, whatſoever and whereſoever, all mankind are called upon, and required to celebrate the

the praiſes of God, with ſinging and all manner of muſick, and that for the ſalvation wrought by the *Meſſias*, our Lord Chriſt Jeſus. Hereof though diverſe evidences might be given out of the Pſalms, yet none more full and ſatisfactory (that *I* know of) than what the *XCVIII.* affords, that being a Pſalm undoubtedly deſigned by the ſpirit of Propheſie, in praiſe of God, for the redemption of mankind and publication of the Goſpel, to which, particularly, the ſecond and third verſes of that Pſalm are four times expreſly applied by the Holy Ghoſt, namely, in the Hymn of the *bleſſed Virgin*, *of Zachary*, and of *Simeon*, and in the preaching of *John the Baptiſt*; and the nineth or concluding Verſe of it, celebrates Chriſt as Judge, as the former celebrated him as Saviour. Now in this Pſalm, though the firſt *Apoſtrophe*, with which the Pſalm begins, may ſeem chiefly directed to the Jewes, that they *ſhould praiſe God for his righteouſneſs openly ſhewn in the ſight of the Heathen*, yet, *Ver.* 4. the ſpeech is turned to all people, to the inhabitants of the Earth,

Luke I. 54, 72. & Ch. II. 31. & Ch. III. 6.

and

and thoſe that are on the broad Sea, Gentiles as well as Jewes. *Make a joyful noiſe unto the Lord all ye Earth, Make a loud noiſe and rejoyce and ſing praiſe.* Ver. 7. *Sing unto the Lord with the harp, with the harp and the voice of a Pſalm: With trumpets and ſound of the Cornet, &c. Let the Sea roar and the fulneſs thereof. the world and they that dwell therein* To the Jewiſh ceremonial Worſhip, none, beſides Jewes, were to be admitted, nor might by the Law join therein, excepting onely the גרי צדק the *Proſelytes of righteouſneſs*, perſons throughly turn'd Jewes: but to praiſe God with *harps and cornets* and all manner of inſtruments, and that for ſpiritual and Evangelical bleſſings, all the *world*, who are partakers thereof, are required and ſummoned. Therefore this inſtitution cannot be meerly ceremonial or peculiar to *Judaiſm*, but belongs to all ages and people even under the Goſpel.

Laſtly, Where can any ſhew us that paſſage, either from our Lords mouth, or from the Apoſtles hands, which declares, or ſo much as inſinuates this where

inſtitution to have been legal and ceremonial, or abrogate? Or is it any where in the Old Teſtament intimated, that it was to be but Temporary?

In ſumme then, and to bring the evidence given as cloſely as may be to our cauſe, and together to the obviating our adverſaries ſuggeſtions: It is plain, *inſtrumental muſick* in the worſhip of God was of divine inſtitution, and is expreſly called a *commandment of God*; therefore it cannot be in it ſelf unlawful, or what ſome may mean by *Will-worſhip*: moſt paſſionate exhortations at leaſt, if not commands, to this practice, are directed to all mankind, Gentiles as well as Jewes; therefore it is not purely *Judaical*: and evident it is, the reaſon of this inſtitution was not ſuch, as of the ceremonies, no ſignificativeneſs of Chriſtian myſteries, but the natural efficacy of the thing to raiſe devotion, and its fitneſs to *make the praiſe of God glorious*, brought it in; therefore the reaſons of the Law continuing, it is very unreaſonable to ſay, the Law was temporary, except either at the making of this Law, it had been

declared ſuch, or ſome ſubſequent paſſage, or Evangelical precept, had annull'd it, none of which can be produced. And to ſay it was abrogated in the Groſs, as being part of the ceremonial Law (which all acknowledge abrogate by the Goſpel) is ſtill as unreaſonable, ſeeing it is neither part of it, as being of later date many centuries of years, nor a kin to it, as being not at all *Typical*, but of natural *uſefulneſs* and *decency*, becoming the ſervice of God, and helpful to us therein. *Inſtrumental muſick* in the worſhip of God, is therefore lawful under the Goſpel: Or rather (becauſe if it had been onely allowed of old, and that allowance no wiſe repealed, it might from thence have been concluded lawful, therefore having been once by God preſcribed), it muſt be eſteemed in ſome meaſure obligatory, to be continued and kept up, where the condition of affairs in the Church of God will admit.

Sect. 13. It remains now, that we examine the *expediency* of the practice we plead for: for, according to our great Apoſtle, many things may be *lawful*, which are

are not *expedient* And here, that none may have reaſon to ſuſpect, I have wittingly waved any difficulty, the ſolution whereof might conduce to any mans ſatisfaction, I ſhall extend the conſideration of this Point to all caſes, as well general, as more particular, which I can judge ſubject to queſtion. As firſt, Whether it be expedient under the Goſpel, or in the Chriſtian ſtate in general? Then more ſpecially, Whether it be expedient under the Reformation, or in a Proteſtant Church? And Laſtly, whether in our Church particularly.

When the Queſtion is moved touching any thing, whether it be *expedient*, I preſume mens common ſenſe thereof is, Whether the thing, being conſidered according to *particular circumſtances*, be *good* and *eligible*. Now under the Goſpel, or in a *Chriſtian ſtate* of things, that which is chiefly to be conſidered as moſt *particular* or peculiar to the worſhip *required by God*, according to the very Doctrine of our Lord himſelf, is this, that by way of Eminency we *worſhip God in ſpirit and in truth*; not John IV. 23.

ly with external adoration, and formal addreſſes (as did a great part haply of the ancient world in general) nor with figurative rites and ſacrifices, as did the Jewes, but conſecrating to him firſt of all our ſouls, and by faith and love ſincerely cleaving to him in every act of Worſhip, which, according to his inſtitution, we pay unto him. And hereto, if inſtrumental muſick were in the leaſt repugnant, or (as I plead for it) prejudicial, I would have a thouſand times expoſed both life and fortunes, before I would ever have writ a word in its defence. But, as I have above both aſſerted and proved it to conduce much to the compoſing the ſoul, to ſtirring up affections, and enlarging the heart, as well as to other laudable purpoſes, ſo do I profeſs before the *Searcher of all hearts*, that I have not ſpoken or affirmed ſuch things of it, but upon mine own experience and preſent ſenſe, and upon as great aſſurance, as well can be had, of the like, from a multitude of ſerious and diſcreet Chriſtians, with whom I have converſed. I confeſs, indeed, Sing-

ing

ing it ſelf (alone and without inſtruments) when tolerably melodious and orderly, much contributes hereto: but when meet inſtruments are added to make up the Harmony, the efficacy is much greater, and, to minds in any indifferent aptitude, well nigh irreſiſtible. Being therefore I find this practice to conduce ſo intimately to, and to comply with, what is moſt peculiarly the *Evangelical worſhip* (namely, the *affectionate adheſion of the ſoul to God*) I conclude it *to be* of the number of the τὰ συμφέροντα, not onely *lawful* but *expedient* under Chriſtianity. 1 Cor. X. 23.

Why any ſhould doubt, whether it be *expedient under the Reformation*, I can gueſs at nothing elſe as a reaſon, but the common infirmity of Humane nature, which, through abhorrency of one Evil, too frequently runs into the contrary Extreme. There is indeed great abuſe of *Church-muſick* in the Romiſh Church. Groſs and intolerable enough it had been, that all their publick ſervice ſhould be in *Latin*, and ſo by the very language commonly unknown to the people: But that this

Latin too ſhould be ſo diſguiſed by their muſick, and way of ſinging, that even the Learned themſelves, except well skilled in the daily Offices (a matter of no ſmall difficulty) and able to turn their books (which, if I miſtake not my ſelf, the meer Laicks ſeldom have) and, beſides this finally, keeping their eyes almoſt conſtantly upon them, cannot poſſibly underſtand any conſiderable part of what is ſung, or ſo much as in their minds go along diſtinctly, and join with the Quire (this I ſay) leaves them no excuſe, and renders their publick worſhip meer Pageantry; both learned and unlearned (at leaſt of the Laity) are unprofitable. Nor do we find their leaders at all concerned at this miſchief: they are ſo far from deſigning their peoples underſtanding (in the publick worſhip I mean) that they plainly contend it not to be neceſſary, and indeed may ſeem to have contrived all wayes imaginable to blind them. Hence it comes to paſs, that in a manner, all Religion amongſt them is placed in the performance of certain external acts (commonly thus or thus fre-

frequently, or to ſuch a number) and their people bred to believe, their meer having heard a *Maſs*, or ſome ſuch like office (of which they ſcarce underſtand a word) to be a principal ſervice of God. Now, becauſe it cannot but be a dull and tedious employment for men to be held by the ears, an hour or two, with words, the ſenſe whereof they are ignorant of, it was therefore contrived in order to making the people ſwallow ſo unpleaſing and ſenſleſs a worſhip, that all delicacy of Muſick and Singing ſhould be uſed in far the greateſt part of their publick Offices, whether the ſubject matter of them were fit to be ſung, or not. So that upon the whole, the uſe of Muſick among thoſe people, in their publick worſhip, is onely to *amuſe* the *minds* of the *weaker*, and *entertain* the *ſenſes* of the more *delicate* ſort: 'Tis a reliſh hitting, in ſome proportion, all palates amongſt them; a very conſiderable part of thoſe Solemnities, which make up one of the moſt marveilous Holy cheats in the world; namely, that of a pompous irrational ſhew, obtruded not only

ly on the more ſilly Vulgar, but upon men in other things ſober and ingenious, in the room of a moſt divine and ſpiritual worſhip (ſuch as was that which Chriſtianity delivered) and by them all, as blindly as reſolutely, acquieſced in. It is plain then, here is as notorious an abuſe of ſacred Muſick, as can eaſily be imagined: for, whereas the rule is, that we *ſing with underſtanding* (both of our ſelves, who ſing, and as neer as may be of the hearers) here both ſinging and muſick are deſigned to make the people digeſt a worſhip they underſtand not; nay, as would ſeem, to render that more unintelligible to them, ſo, as in the end, to put them off contented with a little noiſe and muſick, in ſtead of a *reaſonable* and ſpiritual *Service*.

This corruption being ſo groſs, if meer indignation did in the beginning tranſport ſome Reformers ſo far, that they contended for the aboliſhing of all Muſick in the worſhip of God, and beſtowed, as above confeſſed, ill names upon it, this their tranſport may be excuſed, from the natural proneneſs of

of men to overſhoot themſelves through ſudden paſſion, where the provocation is ſo great: in the mean while, the like indignation (which ſome yet conceive againſt our practice at preſent) cannot be ſo excuſed, becauſe there is not in our practice like cauſe. Let therefore ſuch, who pretend to be ſenſible of the exceſſes of ſome good mens zeal in other like caſes, and would themſelves, in this and in all others, be accounted men of ſobriety and reaſon, let them, I ſay, calmly examine things, and duly conſider, before they pronounce. Firſt, it is ſure, *Reformation* imports the taking away nothing but corruptions: we are not to deſtroy all we find practiced, and make all new, but to reduce all into due order according to inſtitution. And ſecondly, in the doing of this, if we will not incur the juſt imputation of partiality & unreaſonableneſs, we muſt be conſtant to our own reaſons, and, as an admirable perſon adviſes, whatever meaſures we take, *provide we contradict not our ſelves.* I ſay then, We found *ſinging* before the Reformation, as has been Mr. H. Thorndike.

confeſt, abominably abuſed, and ſwerving very widely from the inſtitution and ends of it: Now we reformed it, not by taking away all ſinging (becauſe ſinging it ſelf was of divine inſtitution) but by applying ſinging onely to ſuch parts of the publick offices as were proper to be ſung, by proportioning it to its true ends, and, to that purpoſe, reconciling it to the peoples underſtanding. In like manner, we find *Inſtrumental muſick* in uſe in the Church before the Reformation, & we have ſeen it at firſt to have come in by divine inſtitution, and upon juſt & reaſonable grounds: now, if we will be conſiſtent with our ſelves, we are to reform this in like ſort; not by a total abolition, or baniſhing it utterly out of the publick worſhip, but by accommodating it to due caſes, and in proportion to its meet ends of helping the people in the praiſe of God, and raiſing in them a more Heavenly temper of mind. Thus, we redreſs the abuſe of it amongſt the Papiſts, as it was onely a publick wheadle, and uſed for keeping the generality from ever underſtanding or enquiring

quiring into the matter of the prayers or praiſes, which they offer; & together we leave it pure (in the condition as ordained by God) an help in, and ornament of the worſhip of God. It is apparent therefore, that if we underſtand Reformation and our ſelves as we ought, or will be juſt to our own grounds, we muſt conclude inſtrumental muſick, in the publick worſhip, to be expedient in the Church Reformed.

It remains now onely, that we enquire whether it be expedient in *Our* Church; which being a *Chriſtian* Church and a *Reformed* Church, nothing can make inſtrumental muſick inexpedient therein, but ſome unhappy particularity, which if it ſhould fall into the Catholick Church in general, or into any Reformed Church in particular, would there alſo alike prevail to alter the caſe. Of ſuch poſſible occurrences, I can conjecture but two, *Publick diſtreſs*, or an afflicted ſtate of affairs, and the caſe of *Scandall* to a conſiderable number of weak brethren. This I ſhall ſpeak to anon amongſt other objections; at preſent, therefore,

as to the former onely, I say, Though the common people will be ever querulous, even in the greatest affluence of all things, and a certain vein of men, whom, by reason of their vices or negligence nothing can possibly make rich, alwayes really indigent, though as long as the world stands, and men have different interests and passions, there will be taking parties, and prosecuting animosities, and thence necessarily some totterings and instability of State (all which must be acknowledged at present amongst us) yet this being no more, than what is in a manner every where, and has been in the most flouri shing Kingdoms, we must allow, blessed be the God of our wealth and peace, we are very far from being a poor or embroiled Nation; How far unsettled we are, though many talk, I am well assured, not one man of ten thousand can probably define: as it ever was, mens jealousies are greater than their dangers, and their complaints than their sufferings. Those who are sober, humble, and peaceable, find little disturbance, none at all, from any publick

lick oppreſſions or violence. Now in ſuch a ſtate of affairs, if we will be Chriſtians, we are to bleſs God (and that in the moſt glorious and zealous manner we can) for our preſent injoyments and eſtabliſhment, and we are very unworthy, and a thouſand times deſerving to loſe what we injoy, if we will not truſt God as to what ſhall come. I would fain have any man of judgment in State-affairs, compare the time of *David*'s Kingdom, when he eſtabliſhed the goodly Choral ſervice amongſt the Jewes, with our preſent condition (circumſtantiated as badly as any malecontents can with truth repreſent it) and upon due conſideration, I doubt not but it will be reſolved, We are now a more flouriſhing people, than at that time were the Jewes. Witneſs the infinite Structures amongſt us, publick and private, our ſumptuous furniture, our Tables, our clothes, and not a few mens Coffers, I did not ſay debaucheries. Let us conſider our Neighbours round about us, and we muſt certainly be falſe to God and our ſelves, if we do not acknowledge Gods

ſingular mercies to us in outward plenty and wealth now for a conſiderable tract of time. Even thoſe ſcarcities we have felt (as to what concerns the generality) may vye with the plenty of diverſe other Nations. In ſuch a ſtate of things, to eſteem that ſmall coſt which is beſtowed on the worſhip of God, grievous, is to be highly ungrateful: whatever the charge of our Quires is, the age, God be thanked, may full well bear it. Were the ſtate of the Church ſuch, as when holy Biſhops miniſtred the *Body* of our Lord in *Twiggen baskets*, and his *Bloud* in cups of *Wood*; when the walls of their Oratories were *Hurdles*, and the covering *ſedge*; or ſuch as in after-ages, when tyranny having enſlaved multitudes of the faithful, and all that could be raiſed by publick charity, not ſufficing to redeem them, St. *Ambroſe* broke and melted down the Church-plate, to purchaſe the liberty of the captive Brethren, which St. *Auſtin* afterwards, in the like caſe, is ſaid to have imitated, were, *I* ſay, this, or any thing neer it, our preſent ſtate, ſome-

Spelm. Concil. in Apparat.

Ambr. Offic. l. 2. c. 28. Poſſid. Vit. S. Aug. c. 24.

ſomething then might have been pleaded, of the inexpediency or unſuitableneſs of ſo coſtly ſervice. But things being (praiſed be God) far otherwiſe, *Alia aliam ætatem decent*; if God give us *cieled houſes*, 'tis fit the publick places, for his Worſhip, partake of ſome proportionable beauty: and if we can maintain muſick for civil purpoſes, it is unreaſonable we ſhould judge the expence burdenſome in ſacred ones; eſpecially when the endowments of very few of our Quires, are much due to the bounty of this age.

From this, which hath been ſaid touching the preſent ſtate of our Church, we are furniſhed with a due anſwer to that ſcornful demand, ordinarily made by way of objection againſt our Church muſick, namely, Where were your Organs and Quires in Chriſt and in his Apoſtles dayes? Where in the Primitive age? They were, where the Jewiſh ſacred muſick and ſingers were in the Patriarchs dayes, and in the time of the Egyptian bondage; where they were, during the wandring of the Church, in the wilderneſs, *Sect.* 14

or

or its unſettled ſtate, while planting in the land of *Canaan*, ſilent, and as it were in the womb of their cauſes, expecting the proſperity and meet condition of the Church, as the fulneſs of time, to give them birth, and make them ſpeak. We ſay, the outward modes and circumſtances of divine worſhip, have been ever modelled and altered according to the outward ſtate of the Church: it was ſo under Judaiſm, it has been ſo in the ſeveral ages of Chriſtianity, and it is reaſonable it ſhould be ſo at preſent. And this is the true reaſon, why inſtrumental muſick ſo ſlowly came in to the Church, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian: at firſt, the ſtate of neither would admit it. When the Jewiſh Church arrived at a ſettled eſtate, it came in thereunto by Gods appointment: The Chriſtian Church remained longer under perſecution, and in an unſettled condition, than the Jewiſh, and hence it came to paſs, that as the Primitive Chriſtians took up onely the moſt ſimple way of ſinging (ſuch as their condition would bear) ſo the advances to Art were

more leiſurely: and there being never any ſenſible variations in publick practices, but they find ſome contradictions and cenſures (Even St. *Ambroſe*'s Hymns were cenſured as a guileful ſtratagem upon the people) ſo it muſt not be denied, but theſe little gradations of art met with (perhaps more than their) due ſhares: In the mean time, this muſt be acknowledged by all, that the Chriſtian Church took up Singing it ſelf (as they did the common grounds of their Religion) from the Jewiſh, though not as Jewiſh, but as of divine inſtitution: and being taken up thence, the particular wayes and accompliſhments of the Jewiſh ſinging, have been imitated or revived under Chriſtianity, by ſuch gradations, as providence has given way and occaſion unto. So that the imputation of Novelty here muſt neceſſarily ceaſe. Thoſe practices, which having firſt obtained in the Church in obedience to poſitive divine laws, have been afterwards diſcontinued by the fate or neceſſity of times (and ſuch truly was what we plead for) muſt not be accounted new, when retrieved.

But the Primitive Church not onely uſed no inſtrumental muſick in their publick worſhip, but the Fathers of the purer ages expreſly condemn'd it. I do not deny, but ſome Ancients may have cenſured it (in my poor judgment, with more ſeverity than they ought) yet not all, not many, that I can find: and thoſe who are verſt in the Fathers Writings muſt confeſs, it is no wonder to find the Fathers divided in their judgments upon points of greater moment than this. Though great Encomiums of Church-ſinging, and expreſſions of the wonderful effects even of the very muſicalneſs thereof, may be produced almoſt infinite out of the Fathers, yet I remember my ſelf to have met with onely four paſſages, which expreſly & particularly ſpeak of inſtruments with relation to this purpoſe; And I will faithfully ſet down the ſenſe of each. The firſt and eldeſt is of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, in the place formerly mentioned. His deſign there is to ſhew, what mirth or muſick becomes a Chriſtian Table: and after he has baniſht thence, as unworthy of Chriſtians,

Pædag. l. 2. c. 4.

'Αλλ'

Ἀκόλαστον καὶ κακότροπον μουσικὴν, all the lascivious and effeminate musick of the Gentiles καὶ μελῶν κατηγήτων καὶ ῥυθμῶν γοητικῶν φαρμακείας, "and "the witchcrafts of their broken notes "and Numbers, by which they drew "their Guests and selves into intempe- "rance and vileness; he concludes, at a Christian Banquet, singing to God and Christ to be most comely: and then proceeds to our purpose: Κἂν ᾠδὴν μελάθειν ἐθελήσῃς ἢ λύρᾳ ᾄδειν τι καὶ ψάλλειν, μὴ μέμψεως ἔστι. Εὐσεβῶν μιμήσῃ δίκαιον βασιλέα Ἑβραῖον τὸν θεοφιλῆ &c. "But if you have a mind to sing "and play to the Lute or Harp, you "incur not blame: you shall herein "imitate the Righteous Hebrew King, "well-beloved of God [who sung] "*Rejoice in the Lord ye righteous, praise* "*is comely for the upright. Praise the* "*Lord upon the Harp, sing to him with* "*a Psaltery of ten strings. Sing a new* "*song unto him.* Let all the world judge, if this be to condemn grave and sober instrumental musick in the praise of God. The next, of the Antients (but he of no certain name nor age) is the *Authour* of the *Orthodox Questions and Answers* in the Works of *Justin*

Martyr. His words are as followes, Εἰ ὦν ἐφ' ἡδονῇ ἀπίστων εὑρέθη ἀπάτλω, *&c.* "If ſinging or Songs were invented by the "Infideis or Heathen world onely for "deceiving delight, and brought in "amongſt them under the Law (διὰ φρενῶν νηπιότητα) by reaſon of their being "*children in underſtanding*, why do we "who have received the perfect rudiments of Grace, far different from "thoſe mentioned manners, uſe ſinging in our Aſſemblies, according to "them who were children under the "Law? To which the Anſwer is, Οὐ τὸ ἅπαι ἁπλῶς ἐφ' ἡδονῇ πᾶς νηπίοις ἁρμόδιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ ἐφ' ἀψύχων ὀργάνων καὶ μετὰ ὀρχήσεως καὶ κρεταλων, *&c.* "Simple ſinging is not a thing "which is agreeable purely to them, "who are children, but ſinging with "ſenſleſs inſtruments; with dancing "and with Timbrels. Wherefore in "our Aſſemblies, the uſe of ſinging "with ſuch inſtruments, and other "Rites befitting children, is taken "away, and ſimple ſinging onely left, and then he runs on in a long praiſe of the virtues of Church-ſinging. Now it is conſiderable, that in this cenſure, we

we meet with inſtrumental muſick in company with the Jewiſh cuſtome of Dancing with jingling or rattling inſtruments in their hands, which conſiſts not with that gravity and decency, which we both plead for, and practice in our Church-muſick; ſo that it is not ſimply our practice, but ſomewhat more, which is here condemn'd, and which we our ſelves ſhould have condemned, if any where in uſe in the Chriſtian Church. But it will be ſaid, he condemns inſtruments in general, as being part of thoſe childiſh rudiments, and tells us onely, ſimple ſinging was then in uſe. He does ſo, and ſpeaks herein his own judgment, and as we have confeſt the practice of thoſe times: Of that practice, the reaſon we have already ſeen, and find not our cauſe at all prejudiced thereby; and of what importance his judgment is, let us now conſider: Firſt, the Authour, certainly, was not *Juſtin* the *Philoſopher* and *Martyr*: for, he cites *Origen*, and *Irenæus*, and calls the later of them a Martyr; whereas, it is certain by *Irenæus* himſelf, that *Juſtin Martyr* was

elder than them both: this is noted by *Possevinus*. He makes mention also of the *Manichees*, a Sect not in being till above one hundred years after *Justin Martyr*'s dayes. *Sylburgius*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and our Countryman *R. Coke* have much more to the same purpose. Then, as to the credit of this Authour, This was the censure of the learned *Scultetus*, and from him of *Rivet* also, that there occur in that work, *Tot frivolæ, tot Justini candore, pietate, doctrinâ indignissimæ solutiones, &c.* "So many frivo-"lous answers, most unworthy of the "ingenuity, piety and learning of Ju-"stin, that if any take the paines to "compare this, with the writings of "the true *Justin*, he must acknow-"ledge he has compared lead with gold. This being their dearly beloved *Rivet*'s censure, let the Dissenters make much of the credit done their cause by the authority of that anonymous writer.

In apparat. Sac. tom. 2.

Critic. Sacr. li. 2. c. 5.

The third Authour, I mean in order of time, that I have found, is that famous Christian Poet *Aurelius Prudentius*: he being big with love and praise towards our Lord Christ, thus breaks out. *Quic-*

In Apotheosi Adver. Judæos.

Quicquid in ære cavo reboans tuba curva remugit,
Quicquid in areano vomit ingens ſpiritus hauſtu,
Quicquid caſta chelys, quicquid teſtudo reſultat,
Organa diſparibus calamis quod conſona miſcent,
Æmula paſtorum quod reddunt vocibus antra,
Chriſtum concelebret, Chriſtum ſonet, omnia Chriſtum,
Muta etiam fidibus ſanctis animata loquantur.

What Sacbuts roar, or ſhriller Trumpets ſound,
From their braſs lungs fill'd with a mighty blaſt,
What notes Theorboes, or chaſt Lutes rebound,
What cords unequal pipes of Organs caſt,
What caves, reflecting ſhepherds voices round,
Let all ſpeak Chriſt, all in Chriſts praiſe combine:
And let dumb Animals,
Whoſe voice to harmony not falls,
Into harmonious ſtrings their hallowed Fibres twine.

He who ſung this, thought neither *Wind* nor *Stringed* inſtruments unfit for the praiſe of God and Chriſt.

The laſt of thoſe paſſages out of the ancient

ancient Fathers, which I have met with, expreſs to this point, is in St. *Chryſoſtome.* The authour of the *Apology for the Ejected Engliſh Miniſters*, cites St. *Chryſoſtome* on 1 *Cor.* XIV. as having there taught, that this kind of Muſick was to be reckoned amongſt the *childiſh trifles of the Jewiſh Church.* He did well to cite an authority, of ſo great credit, ſo at large, that men that could not ſpend a day or two to ſearch the Father, and read over all his Homilies on every part of that Chapter, might through deſpair of finding out what they looked for, neglect to ſearch, and not detect his idling and falſity. That perſon muſt have better eyes than I have, & have conſulted more than Three Editions of *Chryſoſtom*, who can find any ſuch thing there. In his commentaries upon the Pſalms, if any where, a man might expect ſomething on this ſubject: and therein on *Pſal.* CL. I find this paſſage, which may a little pleaſure the Apologiſt. Καὶ τὰ Ὄργανα δὲ εἰκότως διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτέτραπται τότε, διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνοήτων, καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς σοφίαν καὶ ζωφρονίαν, &c. "These inſtruments were then "per-

" permitted [we have ſeen by the Ho-
ly Scripture, they were *commanded*,
and that by *God*] " by reaſon of their
" weakneſs, and to mold them into
" love and agreement, and raiſe their
" minds, to do with pleaſure thoſe
" things, which brought them advan-
" tage; and for that God had a mind
" to bring them to a great deal of dili-
" gence by ſuch allurement. For God
" conſidering their ſordidneſs, and
" ſloth, and groveling nature, contri-
" ved by this means to awaken them,
" mixing with the labour of attendance,
" the pleaſingneſs of Melody. Againſt
this Text of the Father, we have no
exception to make, but onely what has
been already inſinuated, and for which,
diverſe expreſs Teſtimonies of Scripture
have been alledged, namely, that this
Muſick was not meerly *permitted* or *al-
lowed*, but by preſcript order *comman-
ded*; and that though the command
was delivered by *David*, & the contem-
porary Prophets to the Nation of the
Jewes, yet it is obligatory ſtill (at
leaſt by way of direction to the Gover-
nours of the Church) in like ſtate of

affairs through all ages and peoples, becauſe the reaſons hereof are not temporary, but likely to laſt as long as the world: and as to that part, we need onely to appeal to the reaſons here aſſigned by the Father. We acknowledge God, in this inſtitution, regarded humane *infirmity*, and deſigned the *raiſing* our ſouls, and making us in love with devotion and diligence therein, nor did we ever pretend otherwiſe.

And now, what has the appeal to the judgment of the antient Fathers advantaged our adverſaries, or loſt us? That paſſage of an uncertain authour, which was moſt againſt us, comes not purely home to the point; and beſides, his judgment, in the confeſſion of our adverſaries, is but very mean, and the writing certainly ſpurious. That paſſage of St. *Chryſoſtome* (as falſly reported, as cited by them) we no further diſſent from, than as he manifeſtly abates the expreſs term of Scripture, otherwiſe he makes for us. The teſtimonies on the affirmative ſide, are moſt cloſely pertinent, ſubject to no ambi-

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guity, and undoubtedly authentique. Others may add more, but this is ſufficient to ſhew, Primitive antiquity diſallowed not our practice, though the ſtate of the Church then admitted it not.

Neither will the ſtate of the Church now admit it (will ſome ſay) if you regard ſpirituals, and the *ſcandal* it adminiſters to the *weak multitude*.

To ſpeak freely my ſenſe to this Objection, I cannot but believe there are many perſons, who pretend daily to be ſcandalized, that are not concerned in conſcience what they pretend or ſay, nay, that underſtand not what ſcandal means. The pretence of ſcandal, as it is uſed, ſeems to be an Objection, when all others fail, againſt whatſoever men have a mind to oppugn: when they are driven out of all other ſhifts, then they have recourſe to this plea, 'tis matter of ſcandal to the weak. Now let us onely in a word, conſider what ſcandal is, and we ſhall find the pretence of it (though indeed commonly unreaſonable in moſt caſes, yet) moſt vilely unjuſt in this. It is very

plain by the Apoſtles diſcourſe in 1 *Cor.* *VIII*, that to adminiſter matter of *ſcandal* to another, is by our practice to *embolden* or draw in any to do, what by reaſon of weakneſs (that is, by being young in the Faith, and not verſt in diſcerning the differences of good and evil) he is not ſatisfied in his conſcience he may do: and by how much the ſollicitation to ſuch action is the ſtronger, by ſo much the greater is the ſcandal adminiſtred. Now in the preſent caſe, beſides that it is very unſeaſonable for a generation of knowing men (as would ſeem at leaſt) bred up in a Church, which has enjoyed the Goſpel, powerfully preached in its purity, for above an hundred years in continuance, beſides, I ſay, that it is very unſeaſonable for ſuch people, in ſuch circumſtances, to pretend ſcandal and weakneſs, with what truth can any ſay, conſidering the preſent practice of our Church, that they are ſcandalized at our Church-muſick? That others, whom it is not in their power to reſtrain, practice it, can be no ſin of theirs: and if they judge, that

that the practice of it is a ſin in thoſe, who practice it, how are they then ſcandalized, when their conſcience is ſuppoſed reſolved in the caſe, that it is a ſin, and they have all the liberty they can deſire to forbear it, no one going about to impoſe it on them. Our Cathedrals ſtand indeed open to thoſe, who will thither reſort to that kind of Service, but if any approve not that way, there are Pariſh-Churches for their free recourſe, where the practice is plainer: none are forced to our Quires, nor blamed for not coming to them (if they attend the regular worſhip of God elſewhere) ſaving onely ſuch who are of the body of them; and even they had their choice, whether they would have taken upon them thoſe places, to which ſuch an obligation is appendant. Whereby it is evident, that thoſe who pretend the conſciences of men with us, to be burdened, amongſt other ſpiritual oppreſſions, by Organical muſick, and ſinging prayers, ſeek onely to draw an unjuſt *Odium* upon our Church, and diſcover their own complaints not to be without malice:

That the world might think they have reaſon for their ſeceſſion and clamours, they cry out of the preſſure of injunctions, which are not in being.

But it will be ſaid, ſtill there is the *power of Example* to induce men into this ſuſpicious practice, and the influence of great mens example upon inferiours being conſidered, this is ſcandal forcible enough. I *deny* the practice to be *ſuſpicious*: *We* avow it to be *good*, and neither doubt of it, nor of the ſufficiency of our arguments to approve it to all unprejudiced perſons; and therefore we practice accordingly with full ſatisfaction of mind. The *diſſenters* from our Church generally preſume it to be *evil*, and if they have reaſons, which ſatisfie their conſciences therein, to them it is ſo; and accordingly they forbear it, and we cenſure them not for ſo doing: let them in like manner not cenſure us for the practice of what, in the fear of God and ſincerely in our conſciences, we allow, and reap benefit by. If in the mean while, there be any perſons of an amphibious condition, who doubt whe

whether the practice in conteſt be good as we ſay, or evil as they ſay, as theſe can be but very few (and therefore the pretence touching the *multitude* falls) ſo, if any of thoſe do practice without full perſwaſion of Faith, let all judge who gives the ſcandal, *We*, who avow our own practice, and, though we are aſſured we can juſtifie it before God and men, yet leave thoſe who are unſatisfied to their liberty in this regard, requiring onely, that as they are not cenſured by us for the uſe of their liberty, ſo neither that they cenſure others; Or *They*, who ſcruple, wrangle, diſſeminate all the doubts they can, ſeek for knots in bulruſhes, amuſe their own minds and others, and when they have done, will neither quietly uſe their own liberty, nor be contented we injoy ours. It is the reſolution of a good Caſuiſt of their own, touching a *ſcrupulous conſcience*, that is, a conſcience, which though it doubts, yet rather inclines to one ſide than the other, "That, firſt, endeavours be uſed, by a juſt examination "of the matter in queſtion, to remove the

Ames de conſ. l. 1. c. 7.

"the ſcruple: If that cannot be ſo effe-
"cted, to lay the ſcruple aſide, and
"baniſh it our thoughts; but if ſtill it
"be troubleſome to over-rule it, and
"act contrary to it. For (ſaith he) a
"*Scruple* being an *unreaſonable fear*,
"and without due foundation, can-
"not oblige; nay, nay, by cuſtoma-
"ry acting againſt ſuch ſcrup'es, con-
"ſcience becomes the ſtronger, and
"more quiet. Let them now act ac-
cording to their own doctrine, or ac-
cording to ours, and teach that others
do ſo, and there will be ſatisfaction of
conſcience, and no ſin in that behalf:
but if they will do neither, but ſtill
perpetuate ſcruples, and pretences of
ſcandal, we appeal to God and Angels,
'tis not we, but they that are guilty
of the ſcandal, if any really be; and
not of ſcandal onely, but of unreaſo-
nableneſs, inquietude and confuſion in
the Church of God: and ſo farewell
ſcandal.

All, that I judge material by way of objection yet unanſwered, is, what haply ſome may ſpeak with truth and candour, as they conceive, from their own

own experience; namely, That whereas we pretend this kind of Muſick and Singing, to be an help of devotion, they for their part find it clean contrary. Poſſibly they will tell us, they cenſure not thoſe who uſe it, nor load the practice with ignominious names, nor regard much any other arguments againſt it, but this their own ſenſe, out of which they cannot ſuffer themſelves to be argued: They cannot believe it fit for Chriſtian worſhip, becauſe they are conſcious, that it conſiſts not with the peoples underſtanding (which yet is required, as we have ſaid in the Apoſtolical rule) and therefore if it do beget any good affection) as we pretend (ſuch good affection muſt be onely ſome ſlight and confuſed paſſion of the more ſenſitive part, and ſhort infinitely of that rational devotion, or thoſe diſtinct acts of Faith, love and gratitude, which are exerted by holy men in the paying ſuch a Worſhip, each paſſage of which is underſtood: and beſides, there are very few, if any, of the common people that can join herein, ſo that ſuch ſervice can-

not be the common act of the Congregation, but is limited onely to those of the Quire, most of whom also are concerned meerly as to the Notes and Musick, little, or seldom attending the sense, and engaging their souls Godwards, as is necessary.

Now, as to this objection, I confess in good earnest, I look not upon it as a pretence or cavil in those who make it, but as their real thoughts: & as to the whole sober and serious part of those, who dissent from our Cathedral Service, I really believe, some such misprision, as this, is summarily the ground of their aversenes. Before, therefore, I come to the particulars, supposed to be matter of experience or spiritual sense, I shall humbly request such persons, that they will do themselves and me, and above all, the cause of Truth, so much justice, as with me a little to reflect, modestly and impartially, upon this their experience in the gross. First, when they came to make tryal (if ever they did) whether they could in a spiritual sort worship God in the Choral way, did they not come pre-

prejudiced againſt the Liturgy it ſelf, againſt our Veſtments and Ceremonies, as well as againſt the Muſick? Having been bred up in time of a general deſuetude of ſuch things, and ſeaſoned with ill opinions of them, were they not ſurpriſed with variety of paſſions and concernments, partly at the Novelty (as to themſelves) partly at the ungratefulneſs of ſundry occurrencies? And if ſo, then Secondly, How can they look upon themſelves, when under ſuch little diſturbances, to have been capable of making a fair and candid judgment or tryal? They were not haply, ſo far acquainted with the very Text of the Liturgy, as to underſtand the reaſons and particular excellencies thereof, had it been officiated in the plaineſt way: how then can they juſtly lay the blame of their not underſtanding, of their want of due affection and conſent, upon the ſole Muſick, when it is plain, they wanted ſuch prerequiſite information, as might capacitate them for ſuch devotion; and beſides, their minds, being not void of diſorder, could not calmly attend,

much leſs underſtand, conſider, and diſpoſe themſelves to conſent. It may be very true upon the whole, in ſtead of devotion, they were under ſome confuſion, and forfeited that compoſedneſs of mind which is neceſſary for the meet Worſhip of God: but poſſibly it is not true, that the Muſick alone was the occaſion of it; and they would have found it far otherwiſe, had they been acquainted with the ſervice before hand, as our people generally are (which is but a part of due preparation) or had they not ſuffered by thoſe other prejudices and diſturbances, that aroſe from thence. Perſons not well informed, or diſcompoſed, are very unmeet Judges. Theſe men therefore, whoſe experience is ſo contrary to that of other ſober perſons in the ſame caſe, (and poſſibly, to the general nature of mankind) have all the reaſon in the world to ſuſpect this their experience: and though they may eſteem it to be a kind of ſpiritual ſenſe, yet perhaps it is but ſome peculiar complication of paſſions incident unto them, by reaſon of thoſe unhap-

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py circumſtances they are or were under: And then, the judgment framed hereupon muſt needs be as fallacious, as its grounds. Wherefore, if they will reaſonably and juſtly urge this argument, it behooves them firſt, to inform themſelves of the particulars of our Service, and ſatisfie themſelves touching the innocency of thoſe ſmall ceremonies in uſe amongſt us, that they may not be ſurpriſed by the ſtrangeneſs of either to them; then, to lay aſide all manner of prejudice, which the fate of their education may have inſtilled into them; and being thus qualified, laſtly, to make ſome ſecond and better tryals, wherein they may be able to avow their impartiality.

And that then the ſucceſs may be otherwiſe, will be evident by the examination of the preſumed particulars of their experience; of which the firſt is, that our Muſick and ſinging conſiſts not with the generalities underſtanding. Whereto, I ſay, our Quires may be better underſtood, as to what they ſing, than any Parochial aſſembly in their common and mixt ſinging. The

blending of ſo many different and irregular voices, their drawlings and affected tones, much more confound the words, than does our regular courſe. Witneſs our daily experience in the caſe: I forbear particular inſtances, how little our Congregations are underſtood in their ſinging (nay, how little many times they themſelves underſtand, as to the greater part of them) becauſe ſuch inſtances might be odious. But that our Quires may, with great facility, be underſtood, if people will not be notoriouſly wanting to themſelves, is manifeſt; Firſt, for that as to the main, touching all that is commonly ſung, it is known before hand, that it will be ſung ſuch a day, and ſuch a part of the day: The general Hymns, Reſponds, *&c.* our people have without book: The Pſalms for the day, or ſeaſon, all that have Books can turn to, and moſt join with the Quire: Thoſe that have not, or cannot uſe them, may ſtand as neer ſome of the plain diſtinct voices of the Singers, or of ſome of the people who ſing plainly, as they can, and by this means

means underſtand all, and join, as to their minds, in the addreſs. All the difficulty is in the Anthems, becauſe theſe vary: but it is known firſt, that each Church has particular Books of its particular Anthems, which are diſperſt amongſt the people with intimation, which is the Anthem to be ſung at that time. Then, that moſt Anthems being taken out of the Pſalms, all who have Prayer-books are furniſht with copies of them. Beſides, that frequent uſe makes the particular Anthems known in each Church, ſo that our very people can repeat moſt of them. Laſtly, there is the ſame advantage in this caſe, as beforeſaid touching the Pſalms, of ſome diſtinct clear voices, which may be underſtood every ſyllable by any, who attend to them. And indeed, our preſent graceful way of ſinging comes ſo neer diſtinct pronunciation, that there is not ſo much difficulty in underſtanding all, word for word, as is pretended, eſpecially to thoſe who are the leaſt uſed to it. So that I may confidently averr, ſuch who without prejudice attend, may eaſily

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underſtand, what is ſung in our Quires, if they are not negligent, or, in a ſort, ſtupid.

And the underſtanding being the great paſſage of all into the rational ſoul, this firſt imputation of our Muſicks rendring what is ſung unintelligible, being proved thus manifeſtly injurious, the other, for the main fall of themſelves. For, as to the ſecond, what ſhall hinder our Singings operating to as diſtinct and plenary devotion as may be, if all, that is ſung, is, or (if people prove not groſly negligent) may be moſt diſtinctly underſtood, and with much more certainty & eaſe, than in the Parochial way? If my underſtanding can frame diſtinct notions, my will certainly may exert as diſtinct deſires or vows.

And therefore Thirdly, if by the peoples joining with the Quire, in the praiſes or petitions they ſing, be meant the peoples conſent, it is plain by what we have now ſaid, that this is no wiſe hindered. But if thereby be meant, the conjunction of their voices to thoſe of the Quire, as this is not alwaies neceſſary, ſo neither is it in far

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the greateſt part of what is ſung precluded. There are few, if any of our people, who are the leaſt uſed to Cathedral Service, but can, and do ſing with the Quire the plain Tones of the Pſalms, in which too very often, we ſing our moſt uſual Hymns, the *Te Deum*, *Magnificat*, and the reſt. The ſame I muſt ſay of the Reſponds, when (as moſt commonly) plainly ſung. Nay, even in the very *Chorus's* of our Anthems, as many as can ſing muſically may, and in the Verſicles, or any other part of the Service, if any cannot or may not vocally join, it is ſufficient, that the conſent of their hearts diſtinctly go along with the voices of thoſe who ſing. We are certain in the antient Chriſtian Church, the people generally ſung onely ſome Ἀναφωνήσεις or cloſes of Verſes: & this was taken undoubtedly from the like practice of the Jewes, of which we have ſome foot-ſteps in 2 *Chron.* V, &c. where we find the words, at which the generality ſtruck in, are ſaid to have been, *For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever*; and yet it was at this cloſe, that *the glory of the Lord filled*

led the house. Notwithstanding it is plain by what we have said, much more is allowed, and daily practised by the people amongst us.

But will some say, I cannot keep my mind attent to the things, except distinctly I use the words, which it is granted I may not (at least alwayes) in the Quire. I answer, that is a mistake, you may as well distinctly attend to the things signified by words, when those words are uttered by another, as when they are uttered by your selves. But if the exercise of the Organs of of speech be to any alwayes so necessary, there may be a kind of low whispering singing, as well as there is such a speaking, which many use after the Minister in the publick Prayers, and which will spoil no Harmony, yet sufficiently exercise your private self. It is sure God understands this, and those who find it necessary may use such still voice, when they cannot, without disturbance of others, sing more audibly.

Upon the whole, I profess I see no disadvantage to devotion, which can be

be imputed to our Choral way, uſed as it ought to be, or may be, and I hope generally is. But if any do find it, to put them under any ſuch diſadvantage, as they ought to impute this to a certain ἰδιοτροπίαν or particular temper of their own, ſo they may ſafely, and, as aforeſaid, without cenſure from us frequent onely the plainer way. We take what we find beſt for us, and ſo let them do.

Having thus anſwered all the objections I could meet with or frame, which I could judge of moment, againſt our Church-muſick, I might here have ended this Diſcourſe: for I may ſeem much to have anticipated my ſelf, as to the laſt Head propoſed in the beginning (the ſpiritual advantage to be made by our preſent way of ſinging) having evinced the conducency of our practice to the moſt ſpiritual or Evangelical Worſhip, the worſhipping God with moſt affectionate adheſion of ſoul. But I have above inſinuated, that even in our Choral uſe, there are ſome things obnoxious to cenſure, and which, I conceive, might be better ordered, or Sect. 15.

contrived: and much more in the common Parochial way. Besides, the freedome and ingenuity I have all along professed, may seem to require, that I proceed a little more openly and distinctly on the fifth propounded Question; which therefore I shall do. And let no man think I will spare any thing, which in conscience I judge justly challengeable. I hope ever to approve my self equally an enemy to Faction and Flattery; and that none shall be aggrieved, either with my partiality on one hand, or the confessions which I shall make, and the amendments, which I shall desire, on the other.

CHAP. IV

How the present waies of Singing in our Church, may be managed to the most spiritual advantage of all sorts.

Sect. 1. *A more expres's proces's to the last Head of this Discourse. No alteration*

ration of Laws neceſſary to redreſs what may be preſumed amiſs in the Choraluſe. Sect. 2. *A brief view of the old Jewiſh Quire, their Number of Members, their office, kinds of Muſick, and ſorts of Song.* Sect. 3. *Of the conſtitution and preſent ſtate of our Quires.* Sect. 4. *An account of the Particulars moſt obnoxious to cenſure in the Choral uſe.* Sect. 5. *The grand Original hereof, want of Learning and due inſtitution in the Quire-men or Church-Muſicians.* Sect. 6. *The neceſſity and facility of redreſſing ſuch want.* Sect. 7. *Of further remedies neceſſary. An humble ſupplication to the ſuperiour Clergy, who ſhall condeſcend to read this Diſcourſe, that they will pleaſe to reſume reſpectively, and exerciſe their rightful powers in appointing the Daily* Services *and* Anthems. Sect. 8. *What may, without alteration or breach of Laws, be done in reforming the Parochial ſinging.* Sect. 9. *An humble addreſs to the Parochial Clergy, to endeavour, as far as may be, ſuch Reformation.* Sect. 10. *The Concluſion, by way of ſubmiſſion of all to the judg-*

ment of the Church, and earneſt exhortation to all Quires, to be of Gods mind, in preferring Devotion to Art.

Sect. 1. I Have already ſaid, I do not conceive my ſelf yet diſcharged as to the laſt Head of this Diſcourſe. My buſineſs therefore now is to enquire, more diſtinctly, how we may manage our preſent ſinging, in all our ſacred Aſſemblies, to the moſt ſpiritual advantage: for it is ſure, God is then moſt truly praiſed, when our hearts are moſt enlarged and drawn forth toward him. Now, to this purpoſe, the point of main concernment is, How we may redreſs whatever may be conceived amiſs, or at leaſt improveable, in our reſpective practices. Whatever thoſe particulars are in our Choral way, I do not conceive any of them to be of ſuch nature or importance, as require any alteration of Publick Laws. As to the particular ſtatutes of ſome Churches, I cannot tell what may be ſaid: I muſt neceſſarily leave the judgment of them to ſuch, who are particularly concerned and converſant therein, being my ſelf but

acquainted but in very few. It is, in effect, acknowledged by the Canon-Lawyers, that the different customs of several Churches, render it a matter very difficult generally to define, what belongs to the Office of each Dignitary in the Quire. Yet, supposing any tolerable concord for the main, betwixt the customs or statutes of particular Churches, several Dignitaries or persons must, by their Office, be invested with a power sufficient for what inspection or correction we shall desire; and so, neither here will there need any change of Laws, if the persons impowered will be faithful to their Office. And truly the change, as to matter of practice, will be so easie, as that it cannot possibly make any noise wheresoever introduced: so that upon the whole, none concerned need to fear the danger of making such change, who shall be convinced, that the practice we shall propose (being supposed a Point settled by no Law, and therefore arbitrary and changeable) is better, and more conducing to spiritual Worship, than that which is in use already.

Glos: ad Decr. Greg l: 1. Tit: 25. Ver: *Donet Lecti. ones.*

ready. Now, before I come to particulars, that I may not seem to have neglected any general, which may give light into the case in hand, I shall premise a brief View of the Old Jewish Quire, and then consider the common state of ours; both which having in our eye, and together regarding the Apostolicall rules before laid down, we may hope, what we shall conclude may escape the censure of being Rash, though haply not of being Insufficient.

Sect 2. The old *Jewish Quire* is, as above-said, that *Divine Orlginall*, whence first we derive, and which, with such *variations* as the *Evangelicall Oeconomy*, the present *Age*, *People* and *State* of affaires do require, we pretend to transcribe: of this therefore it is necessary we take some view. And certainly it was not without some considerable design of providence, that an account hereof is set down so particularly in holy writt, especially in the *Chronicles* and in the *Titles* of the *Psalms*.

First, as to the Number of the Quiremen, it was exceeding great, as well it might be in a nation, wherein there was

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but one Quire, and yet, accounting from Thirty yeares old to fifty (for ſuch was the firſt Order touching the Enrolling the Levites for ſervice of the Tabernacle *Numb*: IV. 2.) there were no leſſe than thirty eight thouſand able perſons, fit for one Miniſtry or other about the Tabernacle, when *David* firſt modell'd the Jewiſh *Quire*, 1 *Chron*: *XXIII*. 3. Notwithſtanding *By the laſt words of David the Levites were to be numbred from twenty yeares old* (ver: 27.) which muſt needs conſiderably enhance their number. Of this vaſt multitude of the Levites onely Four thouſand were ſett apart *to praiſe God with the inſtruments, which David had made* (ver: 5) that is for the ſervice of God Quire-wiſe. But it would ſeem, onely Two hundred eighty eight, and thoſe by twelve in a courſe, uſed to be in ordinary attendance; ſo many being uſually choſe out of the reſt, as they were beſt *Inſtructed in the Songs of the Lord, and cunning* or skillfull at their *Inſtruments*: (Ch: XXV. 7.) the reſt being probably as a ſeminary, whence vacancies, as they fell, or, at greater ſolennities, extraordinary num-

De Rep. Hebr: l: 2. c. 7.

bers, might be ſupplied. Now ſuppoſeing, as *P. Cunæus* amongſt others accounts, that after the hundred ſixty-eighth day each courſes turn came again in order, then every twelve attended their week, and at the weekes end were relieved by another twelve. Onely each twelve being to have their מנצח a *Chief Muſician* or *Præcentor*, and there being but three of theſe choſen by joint conſent out of all the Levites, according to the number of the chief families of the Tribe, namely, *Heman*, *Aſaph*, and *Ethan* (Ch. XV. 17.) who is alſo ordinarily called *Jeduthun*, the attendance of theſe three, or of their *Deputies* or *Vicars*, (for ſuch we may ſuppoſe thoſe *Secundaries*, or *Brethren of the ſecond degree*, next to *Heman* and the reſt, to have been, *ver.* 18.) the attendance of theſe, I ſay, muſt needs have had more frequent returns.

Now to collect in brief the particulars of their duty in their *Ordinary attendance*. The Quire of Twelve, with their *Præcentor* in the head of them (whoſe Office it was, as the *Principal to begin the thanksgiving*, Neh. *XI.* 17.) were

were to *ſtand every morning to thank and to praiſe the Lord, and likewiſe at Even*, 1 Chron. *XXIII.* 30. This was (as we may conclude from what is recorded of the ſolemn ſacrifices offered by *Hezekiah*) at the time of the continual burnt-offering, Morning and Evening; For thus we read 2 *Chr. XXIX.* 27, 28. *And when the burnt-offering begun, the ſong of the Lord began alſo, with the inſtruments ordained by* David *King of* Iſrael — *And this continued until the burnt-offering was finiſhed.* The ſame alſo ſeems intimated, though not in ſuch expreſs terms, 1 *Chron. XXIII.* 30, 31. And thus much is generally held by the learned, that ſince the dayes of *David*, the publick ſacrifices of the Congregation, which they offered as in ſtrict duty bound, were never preſented without ſolemn Hymns ſung by the Quire, according to the *Ordinance* of *David*. Theſe Hymns, or this the *ſong of the Lord*, as above named, we may conclude to have been moſt frequently ſome of thoſe four Pſalms, wherein occurs that ſolemn laudatory ſorm. *For he is good, for his mercy endureth for*

ever. 2 Chron. V. 13. and *VII.* 6. Ezra *III.* 41. *&c.* Namely, the CVI, the CVII, the CVIII, or the CXXXVI Pſalm: But not ſolely theſe; for none of theſe Pſalms is intituled to *Aſaph*, yet *Hezekiah the King, and the Princes, commanded the Levites to ſing praiſe unto the Lord in the words of* David *and* Aſaph *the Seer*, 2 Chron. XXIX. 30. And what Hymn they ſhould ſing at ſuch or ſuch time, if it came not particularly in courſe for the day, moſt probably their *Præcentor* did appoint at his diſcretion; for this, diverſe learned men conceive to be the import of *Aſaph's*, *Heman's*, and *Jeduthun's* being to *propheſie with harps*, *Præſcribebant prophetias quas canerent*, "They "preſcribed the prophetick Hymns "which the Levites ſung. Now at the time of this their officiating, the Quires ſtation was at the *Eaſt end of the Altar*, 2 Chr. V. 12. on a Stage, or kind of Gallery, made for that purpoſe, as *Maimonides* tells us. But though we have ſaid there were only twelve required to attend at a time (ten of whom, as *Iſidorus* ſaith, on what ground I know not)

Vatabl. Bertr de. Rep: Jud. c. 15. &c.

De Eccl: Offic. l: 1. c. 3.

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made up a Quire) yet others, whose course then it was not, might attend if they pleased: and those that did not, we may conceive employed, either upon new compositures, (as is plain by the titles of the Psalms, directed for this purpose some to *Asaph*, some to *Heman*, some to *Jeduthun*, the three great *Magistri Symphoniæ*, and others to *The sons of* Korah, who were also excellent Composers, but the three first undoubtedly inspired for Musical composition) or else in teaching or practising such Compositions. Thus, when *Asaph* and his brethren were chosen chief Musicians, *Chenaniah* was made chief *Master of the Song*, *1 Chron.* XV. 22. Chenaniah *chief of the Levites was for Song: he instructed about Song, because he was skilful.* And it would seem to every course or Ward, there was such an instructer: for, at the first regulating of the Quire, *They cast lots, ward against ward, as well the Teacher, as the Scholar*, 1 Chr. XXV. 8. So that we need not fear to say, they had singing Schools, and their singing was very artificial.

Such was their ordinary attendance

and employment. On extraordinary seasons and festivals, the solemnity was onely greater, and the Quire fuller: And besides the Quire, there were certain Priests which sounded with Trumpets, but these, I conceive, distinct from the Quire, 2 *Chron.* XX. 26. and to sound usually before the Song of the Lord begun, 2 Chron. VII. 6. *The Priests sounded the Trumpet before them, and all the people stood.* The design of the Trumpets was, as above proved, to notifie the sacrifice to the people, and therefore it may reasonably be presumed, the sounding of them did not commonly interfeer with the Song (which begun, saith *Maimonides*, at the time of the Wine, that is, the *Drink-offerings* being poured out) but prepare the people for attention. I do not deny, but that upon some extraordinary solemnities, such as was the dedication of the Temple, the *Trumpetters and Singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord:* (2 Chron. V. 13.) but neither was this at the time of sacrifice, for the sacrifice came along after,

after, *Chap.* VII. nor was this the ordinary ſound or tune of the Trumpets, nor poſſibly were theſe the uſual trumpets of the Sanctuary, made by Gods command all of one piece (for, of them there were by Gods command but two, whereas of theſe there were one hundred and twenty) but other more muſical ones, fitted for conſort by King *David*, the great inventor of Muſical inſtruments for holy uſe. Further, I do not conceive the Prieſts to have ſounded conſtantly at the continual burnt-offerings every day (which yet were conſtantly attended as beforeſaid, with the ſervice of the Quire) but onely upon their Feſtivals and ſolemn days; becauſe the letter of the Law, touching the inſtitution of the Trumpets limits the uſe of them (as to the point of ſacrifice) meerly to thoſe, *Num.* X. 10. On theſe alſo, eſpecially on the three great Feſtivals, even all the Prieſts, or, as many as would, might attend: onely thoſe, whoſe courſe it was, were to miniſter about the ſacrifices, the reſt being imploied either in ſounding greater multitude of Trumpets, or,

P. Cun. de Rep. Heber. l. 2. c. 7.

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proving auxiliaries to their brethren attending in course, if overburdened by the number of Free-will-offerings. And upon such times, saith the learned *Bertram*, "All the three chief mu-
De Rep: Iud. c. 15. "sicians (and therefore, undoubtedly, a greater number of the Singers respectively under them) "were to appear, *Asaph* being to assist *Heman* on "the right hand, and *Ethan* or *Jedu-*"*thun* to assist him on the left, and all to join in the song of the Lord. This, I presume, may be concluded in a great measure from 1 *Chron.* VI. 33, 39, 44. and 2 *Chron.* V. 11, 12. compared.

Now, as to the Musical instruments, which they used in this their ministry, they were ordinarily *Cymbals*, *Psalteries* and *Harps*; for of these we have most frequent mention, in all Texts recording either the *constitution*, *ministry* or *restauration* of the Jewish Quire. As to the first, it is said *David spake to the chief of the Levites, to appoint their brethren to be singers, with instruments of Musick, Psalteries, and Harps, and Cymbals*, 1 Chron. XV. 16. And of the persons thus chosen, & their sons, who

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eſtabliſhed by Royal authority, we read *They were ſeparated for the Service, to propheſie with Harps, with Pſalteries, and with Cymbals*, 1 Chron. XXV. 1. In the Records of their Miniſtration, though upon extraordinary occaſion, we have mention for the main onely of the ſame inſtruments, with the addition of an *hundred and twenty Trumpets*, 2 Chr. V. 12 And when reſtored by *Hezekiah*, it is ſaid, *Hezekiah ſet the Levites in the Houſe of the Lord, with Cymbals, and with Pſalteries, and with Harps*, 2 Chr. XXIX. 25. So alſo in the dayes of *Nehemiah* and *Ezra*, Neh. XII. 37. Now theſe three ſorts of inſtruments, if I miſtake not my ſelf, are of as different kinds as can be made. I find no ampler, nor can I conceive a more adæquate diviſion of Muſical inſtruments, than into Ἔγχορδα, Ἔμπνοα, & Κρουόμενα, *ſtringed inſtruments, wind inſtruments*, and *pulſatil* or ringing ones. (That of *mobilia* and *immobilia* is frivolous) And touching the *Harp*, that it was a *ſtringed inſtrument*, there is no queſtion; though of what faſhion *David*'s Harp was, at ſo great a diſtance of time, and

Merſen. de inſtru. Harm. l. 1. ad Prop. 1.

after ſo great loſs of the Jewiſh Learning, we muſt, I think, be content to be ignorant: the moſt material point which I find of it, is, what *Joſephus* tells us, that it had *ten ſtrings*, and was *plaid* on with a *quill*. That what we render a *Pſaltery* (נבל I mean in the Original) was a *Wind-inſtrument*, I cannot much ſcruple. All agree it was an inſtrument like a Bottle (for נבל alſo ſignifies a Bottle, and is ſo uſed in diverſe places of Scripture) and the reaſon Etymologiſts give of the name, is, becauſe it was apt to be filled with wind, as a Bottle with liquour. — *Adjunguntur etiam fiſtulæ perforatæ, aut calami perforati, è quibus egreditur dulcis ſonus.* "To this Bottle were joined ſe"veral Pipes, with many holes, out "of which comes a ſweet ſound. At this rate, it muſt have ſomewhat reſembled a Bag-pipe. The learned *Buxtorf* alledges the authority of *Aben Ezra*, aſſerting that the *Pſaltery* had in it *Ten* holes; though *Joſephus* tells us, *it had* Δώδεκα φθόγγους *twelve ſounds* or notes, and *was ſtruck* or plaied upon *with the fingers*. This, poſſibly, may import no more,

Antiq. Judaic. l. 7. c. 10.

Pagnin. in Theſ. Ling. S. ad vocem.

Lexic. Rabbin.

Ubi ſupra.

more, than the ſtopping the holes diverſly with the fingers, in order to variation of Notes. However, in the Hebrew Gloſſary *Arnch* נבל is expreſly interpreted, an inſtrument in form of a *Bottle, on which they make muſick by blowing.* I may not diſſemble, but that I have met with conſiderable authorities to the contrary, aſſerting it to have been a ſtringed inſtrument; the chief whereof is the Tranſlation of the *Greek Septuagint*, who three times tranſlate, Ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ, *with a Pſaltery of ten ſtrings.* But let us here conſult the Original: In one of the places, which they thus render, namely, in *Pſal.* XCII. 4, The *ten ſtringed inſtrument*, if we muſt ſo read (which then according to *Joſephus*, ſeems to have been the Harp) and the *Pſaltery*, are expreſly diſtinguiſhed by a copulative עלי־עשור ועלי־נבל *Upon an inſtrument of ten* [poſſibly notes or ſounds, as probably as ſtrings] *and upon the Pſaltery:* which diſtinction makes it more reaſonable to take נבל & עשור in thoſe two other places, *Pſal.* XXXIII, 2. & CXLIV. 9. for two diſtinct in-

ſtruments (according as the Interlineary of *Arias Montanus*, as alſo *Tremellius*, and our *Engliſh Verſion* read) than for one and the ſame: The omiſſion of a copulative is no infrequent thing in any Language *I* know. Beſides, as is already intimated, though עשור ſhould be an Epithet of נבל (which in my opinion is not ſo reaſonable, I am ſure not neceſſary) yet it will not infer the *Pſaltery* to have had ſtrings, it being equally applicable to ſounds as well as ſtrings. So that it is not concluſible from Scripture, that the *Pſaltery* was a *ſtringed inſtrument*. Again, Mr. *Ainſworth* (a very learned perſon in his way) reports from authorities, which *I* have not opportunity to ſearch, that the *Pſaltery had ſtrings, and they plaid thereon*. This being onely his Verſion, and not knowing what the words are which he renders *had ſtrings*, and they *played*, nor conſequently what the ambiguities thereof are, *I* cannot build much hereon: whether it had ſtrings or no, 'tis ſure they *played* on it. But however, the excellent *Buxtorf* helps us here again, who produces *Kimchi* upon

Of Muſick in the Temple. At the end of his Notes on the *Pſ.*

on *Isai.* informing us that there were *Two sorts of Psalteries*, some *with strings*, others *without*, and yet both came under the name נבל *Psaltery*. And that, there might be two sorts, is not improbable; for, after the *Psalteries* made and introduced by *David*, of the form of which we have already spoke, there were others made of *Algum wood* by King *Solomon*, and *there were none such seen before in the Land*, 1 *Chron.* IX. 11.

Now that which induces me to this opinion, that the *Psaltery* was a wind-instrument (besides the multitude of authorities, diverse of which I have produced, and could add more, were it not tedious) is, First, The *Etymon* of the word, by which it properly signifies a *Bottle made of dry or dressed leather*; and, that they should make a *stringed* instrument of such *form* or *materials*, seems to me very improbable. Secondly, the natural probability of the thing, it tending more (*ad complementum Musices*) to the perfection of Musick, and of the Quires performances in that kind, that these three instruments should be of

three distinct kinds, than that two of them should be of one, and the third of another, when (possibly) of the noblest kind of instruments (for such do I conceive wind-instrnments to be) according to the contrary *Hypothesis* there must not be one. Thirdly, the authority of *Josephus* designing (as it may seem) to prevent, or favourably decide the controversie, who having told us the *Harp had ten strings*, adds presently the *Psaltery had twelve sounds*. What precisely he meant thereby, we may be ignorant, but in the general, we cannot conceive he would have changed his terms, had the instruments he spoke of, been both of the same kind. I will set down his words, because none may suspect me of design, or wilful partiality: they are these; Ἡ μὲν Κιννύρα δέκα χόρδαις ἐξημμένη τύπτεται πλήκτρῳ· ἡ δὲ νάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα, τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται· Let each abound in, and enjoy his own sense.

That *Cymbals* were a *Pulsatil* instrument, there is no question, though the *form* of them be not certain: *Quænam fuerint Hebræorum Cymbala vix est*

Harm. instr.

ut

ut quiſquam ſcire poſſit, is *Merſennus's* cenſure. As to their *materials*, we are ſure from Scripture, that they were made of *braſs*, 1 *Chron. XV.* 19. and in other places. And it is obſervable, that we have no Hebrew name ſignifying a *Cymbal* in the Old Teſtament, of a *ſingular* form. There are indeed two names for them, one in a *Dual* form, מצלתים the other in a Plural צלצלים (both from the ſame root צלל *Tinnire, Palpitare*, *Hab.* III. 16.) which ſhew us, by their *Etymon*, that Cymbals were a kind of ringing inſtruments, and by their *Grammatical form*, that they were uſed (at leaſt) onely by pairs. And anſwerable are the ſuffrages of the Rabbies, *Erant duo inſtrumenta aerea, quæ ſe invicem collidentia ſonum reddebant*: "Cymbals were two inſtruments "of braſs, which being ſtruck one "againſt another, made a Muſical "ſound; and (as we ſhall ſee preſently) a very lowd one.

l. 4. ad prop. 16.

R. David apud Pagn. in Theſ. Ling. S. ad voc. Vid. & alios ibid.

Theſe notions, or deſcriptions of their inſtruments in ordinary, come the neereſt truth, to my poor ſenſe, of any that I have had advantage to collect;

lect; and admitting them for truth, it must be concluded, that of old, they praised God daily in the Temple, with instruments of the greatest variety imaginable.

But let the *Psaltery* have been a *Wind*-instrument, or a *stringed*-instrument, or some more artificial conjuncture of both in one (which possibly he meant, who said it took its name from נבל *stultus*, and gave the reason, *quia stulteſcere facit omnia inſtrumenta Muſica*) it matters not much, for it is sure, that (especially on Festivals and greater solemnities) they used other instruments, besides the three above named, and such, which undoubtedly were *wind-instruments*. Not to say any more of the hundred and twenty Trumpets, such was undoubtedly the *Cornet*, 2 *Chron.* XV. 14. *Psal.* XCVIII. 6, &c. which is the most proper rendering of שופר and possibly was meant by קרן too 1 *Chron.* XXV, 5. Such also the *Flute* or *Pipe*, מחול *Psal.* CXLIX, 3. CL, 4. & חליל *Isa.* XXX, 29. both from חלול *Hollow*, and, as our *Masters* teach us, made of *fine wood* or *Cane*.

R. Salomon apud Buxt.

Such

Such, laſtly, the *Organ*, or *Metal-pipe* עוגב *Gen. IV.* 21. *& Pſ.* CL. 4. and poſſibly ſome others.

And if *Cymbals* ſhould be ſuſpected not to have been *Pulſatil* inſtruments, the *Timbrel* or *Tabret*, as תוף is indifferently rendred, 1 *Sam* X, 5. *Pſ.* CL, 4. and many other places, can be imagined no other. The ſame, I conceive too, is to be ſaid touching the מנענעים which (I ſuppoſe, for want of a fitter word) our Tranſlators rendred *cornets*, 2 *Sam.* VI, 5. but perhaps ſignifies nothing like them. The Septuagint rendred it *Cymbals* (and liker Cymbals certainly were thoſe inſtruments, than are cornets): St. *Jerome*, and from him *Tremellius*, more properly *Siſtra*. The word truly ſignifies *commoventia*, as *Arias Montanus* renders it: and if we will hear the ſenſe of our Hebrew Maſters, theſe inſtruments were thus named, *Quòd homo dum illa pulſat, agitet corpus & ſaltet*: "becauſe "he who beats them, much ſtirs his "body, and, as it were, leaps in "beating. They would ſeem a certain kind of Kettle-drums. For, whereas R. Dav. apud Pagn. in Theſ.

ſome Grammarians have rendred *Siſtrum* an inſtrument like an Horn, the miſtake is intolerable: it was an inſtrument made, *è metallo arguto*, of the moſt ringing metal, and uſed firſt by the *Egyptians* in the worſhip of their God *Iſis*, named Σείστρον from Σείω, becauſe being ſtruck and toſt, it made a ſhrill ſound; and was after uſed in war inſtead of a Trumpet:

Vid: Serv. in Virgil. Æn. 8. prope fin. & Rader. in Mart. l. 14. Ep. 50.

—*patrio vocat agmina Siſtro.* Virg.

More inſtruments of this nature poſſibly they might have: as alſo of מנים *Pſ.* CL, 4. which I am contented to take for *ſtringed* inſtruments, though the Rabbies are not yet agreed what its import is. In 1 *Sam. XVIII*, 6. we read of שלשים, moſt probably inſtruments of *three ſtrings*. It is alſo uſually conceived, that they had inſtruments of *eight* ſtrings, though I find yet no authority for it in Scripture, having reaſon otherwiſe to interpret, 1 *Chron.* XV. 21. and the title of *Pſ. VI.* And of the Harps being a *ten-ſtringed* inſtrument, we have already ſpoken.

Of the number of theſe inſtruments imploied at one time, I find nothing more

more exact, than what Mr. *Ainſworth* reports out of *Maimonides*, and the *Babyloniſh Targum*. "There might not be "fewer than two *Pſalteries*, nor more "than ſix; nor fewer than two *pipes* or "*flutes*, nor more than twelve; nor "fewer than two trumpets [namely, when any of the more *muſical trumpets* were mixt with the other inſtruments] "nor more than an hundred and twen- "ty (as many as there was at the de- "dication of the Temple) nor fewer "than nine Harps, but as many as they "would, and one *Cymbal* onely [that is one pair, as aforeſaid] "In all the "days of the ſolemn Feaſts, and at "the New moons, there were Prieſts "blowing with trumpets at the hour "of the ſacrifice [theſe were thoſe trumpets of the Sanctuary, *Numb.* X.] "—Twelve daies in the year they play- "ed on the Pipe or Flute before the "altar, *viz.* at the killing of the firſt "Paſſeover, and in the firſt good day "of the Paſſeover, and in the firſt "good day of Pentecoſt, and in the "eight days of the Feaſt of the Taber- "nacles. This great number of inſtru-

ments, I conceive, is to be understood, to have been used only on more solemn occasions; Otherwise there needed more than a Quire of twelve, for the meer instrumental performance, the least *Quorum* that could be for that purpose, being, according to this reckoning, sixteen.

What their variety of tuneing was, it cannot be presumed, but we must be deeply ignorant, seeing we have little or no knowledge of their melody. Such singing as I have heard from the modern Jewes, in their devotions, seems to me very barbarous, and infinitely short of what is in ordinary practice amongst us: but it may justly be conceived to bear such proportion to the old Musick in Temple, as their condition now does to the state of their Fore-fathers in those days. I do not doubt, but of old their ordinary instruments were framed, if not tuned, to *diverse pitches*. In 1 *Chr.* XV, 20, we read of *Psalteries* on *Alamoth*, which *Tremellius* worthily rendreth *acutæ symphoniæ*, Trebles, and gives this reason for it, that the word naturally signifying Virgins,

Vid. not. ad Loc.

gins, the muſick denominated from them, may juſtly be conceived to reſemble their voices. In the next verſe we have *Harps* on the *Sheminith*, which proportionably he renders *Gravis ſymphoniæ*, that is, as the word naturally ſignifies, an *Eighth* (we will ſuppoſe) lower. And in *Pſ.* CL, 5, Even as to Cymbals, which we may conceive to admit of leſs varietie, yet we find there were the *lowd Cymbals*, and others of a much ſtronger and commanding ſound than they, though both ſorts to be emploied in the praiſe of God. In ſum then, as I conceive the *Pſalteries* ordinarily amongſt them to have been proportionable to our *Treble* inſtruments, ſo the Harps to have born ſomewhat like our Tenor or Baſſe: and the Cymbals (conſidering the nature of the inſtrument) I cannot imagine to have ſupplied any other part, than what I may call a continued drone, though they might be of different pitches.

The reſult of all is, that as they had all variety of inſtruments in their publick Worſhip, ſo theſe ſo framed, contrived and managed, that there was

moſt ſweet and orderly Harmony amongſt them. And no leſs can any man conclude, who ſhall conſider, that ſecret inſpiration at firſt provided for the performance in this kind: The muſical inſtruments were all framed by, or at the direction of *David*, who received his art from the Holy Ghoſt. The art of compoſition to theſe inſtruments, as alſo of managing them, was inſpired into *Heman*, *Aſaph* and *Jeduthun*. And for ſecuring ſucceſſion on every inſtrument, there was appointed a chief Muſician: one on *Neginoth* (*Pſ.* IV. title) that is, as *Tremellius* truly, laying aſide all the more conjectural Gloſſes of others, interprets it, On the *ſtringed* inſtruments: another on *Nechiloth* (*Pſ.* V. title.) that is, according to the ſame interpreter, on *Wind-inſtruments*: and *Aſaph* chief Cymbaliſt, 1 *Chro.* XVI. 5.

Together with theſe inſtruments, as already proved, was ſung the *ſong of the Lord*, yet ſo, as that ſome difference of ſong may be obſerved. This I ground upon the titles of the Pſalms, ſome whereof are inſcribed only *Pſalms*, others *Songs*: Some שיר מזמור A *ſong* *pſalm*,

Pſalm, as *Pſal.* XLVIII, LXXIII, *&c.* Other מזמור שיר *A Pſalm-ſong*, as *Pſal. XXX*, *LXVIII*, *&c.*. Touching theſe two compound titles, I find this note of *Tremellius*: "Both of them, ſaith he, "uſed to be ſong with voice "and inſtrument, onely with this dif- "ference. *Canticum pſalmum incipiebat vox cántorum modulari, & præeuntem ſequebantur inſtrumenta*, &c." The "voice of the ſingers begun or led in "the *Song-pſalm*, and the inſtruments "followed their voices as they led: "But in the *Pſalm-ſong*, the Muſicians "with their inſtruments firſt begun the "melody, and the voice of the ſingers "followed with the ſong. *Vatablus* has the ſame note, onely he tells us, the preſent Hebrew Doctors will not acknowledge themſelves acquainted with any ſuch difference. But the titles importing ſome difference, and none being more probable, as far as I can ſee, than this, I account this reaſonable: and in proportion hereto conceive, thoſe, which were intitled meerly *ſongs*, were uſually ſung with the Voice alone; thoſe which are intituled

In pſ: 48. tit.

Contra Iſidor. Orig. l. 6. c. 19.

In tit. Pſ. 30.

tuled ſimply *Pſalms*, with voice and inſtruments both beginning together. And I ſhould think, the import of the words, *Canticum* and *Pſalmus*, may juſtifie the conjecture. However, that the Jewes ſometime ſung with the voice alone, none can deny, any more than that at other times they ſung in a mixt way.

Further, in the very ſelf-ſame Pſalm or ſong, ſome little variation of ſinging, I preſume, may be inferr'd from that word *Selah*, which, to omit all the learned Gloſſes thereon, ſignifying in its natural import no more than *Elevation*, I take to have been in ſome proportion of the like force with them, if not as a ſharp, yet as the uſual letter for lowd muſick is with us. But if not, the *Septuagints* rendring it Διάψαλμα (that is, μέλος Ἐναλλαγὴ, ſaith *Suidas*) will infer, that ſome variation of finging was deſigned to be notified thereby, though it doth not determine what. The like alſo do I judge touching *Higgaion*, Pſa. IX, 16. namely, that it required ſome diverſe modulation in what it was affixt to, as ſeveral of the Hebrews alſo ſay, though I ſhould think it very contrary

to

to *Selah*: for its root הגה ſometimes ſignifying *murmumare, muſſitare*, it may be conceived to denote properly enough ſome very ſoft muſick. Nor do I forget when I ſay ſo, that it is join'd with *Selah*, in the place where it is found: for, one part of the Quire being ſuppoſed to be ſilent (as ordinary) while another part ſings, the firſt might ſing in a very ſoft low way [*Higgaion*] the part following, on the contrary, brisk and high [*Selah*] But this is onely a conjecture of mine own.

That *Shiggaion* in the title of Pſ. VII, ſignifies a certain peculiar way of *Pſalmody* is allowed by ſeveral of the Rabbies. It was, ſaith *Tremellius*, *Ode Erratica*, id eſt, *multiplex cantu, quæ omnibus rationibus muſicæ decantabatur ſimul*: "A mixt and changeable kind of ſong, which was ſung with all Muſicall varietyes at the ſame time. So that upon the whole it appeares, There was in the old Jewiſh Quire variety in their Vocal Muſick, proportionable to that of their Inſtrumental.

Nor was this their Chorall practice a buſineſſe of one age, but from its firſt

constitution under *David*, was continued, and still, if any disorder or neglect had insinuated it selfe amongst the Quiremen, orderly regulated and reinforced by the most Religious Jewish Kings; and when their afflicted state of affaires occasioned any interruption of it, forthwith revived with their first hopes and maturations towards a settlement, as is plain from *Ez.* III. 2 *Nehem.* X. 17. and XII. 27. I. *Maccab.* IV. 54: so that it may be justly said to have expired onely with their prosperity.

Sect. 3. Such was the Jewish Quire, their number of members, their quality, office, performance vocal and instrumental, and such their time and continuance. It cannot be expected, that the Christian Quires should answer in all particularities; not especially in the number of members, nor therefore in the variety and multitude of instruments, nor possibly in diverse other points: We must acknowledge our selves for the main far out-done, and study to supply with spiritual and gracious hearts, what we want in outward grandeur and state. The first visible step

ſtep to the forming a Chriſtian Quire, I take to have been, the appointing *Canonical pſalmiſts* or *ſingers*, of which we read early in the Church; & an account has already been given in that behalf. Now, though it be the Doctrine of the preſent, and was the Doctrine of the Antient Church (as we find by *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*, reporting the uſeages before his time) that *Ad hoc officium etiam abſque conſcientiâ Epiſcopi, ſolâ juſſione Presbyteri, eligi quique ſolent, quos probabiles in arte cantandi eſſe conſtiterit.* "There needs no ordination, "nor even privity of the Biſhop, to put "particular men into this Office; but "the Presbyters, whom it concerns, "may chooſe ſuch men, whom it ſhall "be apparent to be skill'd in ſinging, "and by their own authority inveſt "them; yet it cannot be queſtioned, but that to the firſt conſtituting of ſuch a particular Office in the Church, or ſuch an order of men, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould be, by their Office, to ſing publickly to God in the Church, there was not onely the advice of godly Biſhops, but alſo of Synods or Councils. We

De Eccl. Offic. l. 2. c. 12.

meet, as before ſaid, with *Canonical ſingers* in that ancient Council of *Laodicea*. How long ſuch an Order had been in the Church before that Council, I am not able to ſpeak: but it is plain, ſuch Order is by that Council approved, authoriſed, and priviledged. There being a body, there would ſoon appear neceſſity of an head: and therefore it is very probable from the beginning of ſuch *ſingers*, that, as well in imitation of the Jewiſh Quire, as out of the expediency and needfulneſs of the thing, there was appointed ſome able grave perſon, who in ſinging ſhould lead and govern the *Quire*. In the ſame *Iſidore* (though in another book of his) I find the very preſent name *Præcentor*, and him defined to be, *Qui vocem præmittit in cantu*, the perſon who leads in ſinging. He mentions alſo a *Succentor*, the perſon who takes up the ſong from the former, ſinging after and anſwering, and *Concentor*, *qui conſonat*, who ſtrikes in and ſings along with both. What his *Incentor*, and *Accentor* elſewhere mean, I will not trouble my Reader with conjectures; nor concern my ſelf whe-

Orig. l. 7. c. 11.

Orig. l. 6. c. 19.

whether by *Præcentor*, he deſigned a perſon, who by his Office was over the reſt (as we now commonly take the word) or onely ſuch an one, who, as occaſion ſerved, ſung firſt: though I do judge it probable (becauſe highly requiſite to order) that there was one, whoſe Office it was uſually to begin the ſong, or appoint who ſhould; and that ſuch perſon had ſome little rule, or government of direction over the reſt of the ſingers: So that the *Præcentor* may ſeem (at leaſt, both in nature, and order of time) the *firſt* purely *choral dignitary*. But he is not the *firſt* at preſent, either in *order* or *power*, by Law: and therefore all I conclude hence is, that in *Iſidore*'s time at leaſt (and probably before, for he writes of theſe, as no new things, but long cuſtomary in the Church) that is, about the middle of the ſixth century, there were regular Quires in the Chriſtian Church, and neerly reſembling our preſent conſtitution. In proceſs of time, when Cathedral and Collegiate Churches came to be ſettled and indowed, thoſe very indowments perhaps, or the con-

quences of them, made it neceſſary that there ſhould be other *Dignitaries* inſtituted, one ſuperiour to the *Chanter*, though all of right ſubject to the *Biſhop*. For, the notion of a Collegiate Church importing a ſociety of Presbyters, and there being in every Cathedral Church ſuch a Society or Colledge, which were deſigned as the *Council* of the Biſhop (and are by the Law, if I miſtake it not, called *Sacerdotes cardinales*, by us, in common language, *Canons* and *Prebendaries*) and theſe being ordained to higher functions than meerly officiating in the Quire, though all of them have places, and ought in courſe to attend and officiate in the Quire, it was not reaſonable they ſhould be govern'd by him onely, who was at the moſt but head of the Quire, and the Biſhop could not always be preſent. This made the dignity and office of the *Dean* neceſſary, which being a name firſt taken from Military diſcipline, and ſignifying him who had the command over ten ſouldiers, by its antienteſt plea, would pretend to no more than a right of *Preſidency*

De off. Archipr. extra cap. Miniſterium.

Modeſtin. de rei mil: vocab.

dency over *ten Canons* or Regular prieſts, *In Monaſteriis Decani appellati, qui decem Monachis præerant.* And this, I believe at firſt, was the moſt regular number: but now, uſe has altered the caſe in that regard, though the name remain ſtill. Now, for what further authority a *Dean* (as ſuch) can pretend to, derived from the Law in common, and not founded on particular ſtatutes and cuſtome, he muſt be content to claim in another ſtyle, and under the name that the Canon-law gives him, that I mean of *Archipresbyter*, with the addition of *civitatis*, which, that it was intended, touching the *Dean*, ſee the Gloſſe *ad Diſtinct. XXV. perlectis. vocem Archipresbyter.* And, as to the antient particulars of his Office, ſee them in the ſame *Diſtinction*, and *de Off. Archipresb. extra cap. Officium.* The more ſubſtantial part and ſumme whereof, as by later *Canons* may appear, is this, that he inſpect the manners of the Clergy under him, and keep all in their duty. *Vid. concil. Colon. de Metropolit. & collegiat. Eccl. c. 2. In animarum regimine, & morum*

Auguſtin. de morib. Manich. l. 1.

rum correctione præmineat. ſtat. Sar.

The next Dignitary in the Quire, is the *Chanter* or *Præcentor*, who alſo for any further power than what that term imports, muſt claim in another name, and, as the Law calls him, *Primicerius:* a word onely derived, ſay ſome, from *Primus*, and not at all compounded, and ſignifying in *Suidas* his language, Πρῶτον τῆς τάξεως, *the firſt of his Order*, and belonging to the *Chanter*, who is the *firſt of the Quire*, though not *in* the Quire. His duty is ſet down in diverſe places of the Law, *de Off. Primicer. extra cap. ut Primic. Et vid. Gloſs. ibid. Et* XXI. *Diſtinct. Cleros.* but moſt fully *XXV. diſtinct. perlectis.* the ſumme whereof, as to what is of preſent concernment to our Quires, I will ſet down. *Ad Primicerium pertinent*—*Pſalmiſtæ atque Lectores; ſignum quoque dandum pro Officio Clericorum, pro vitæ honeſtate: & Officium cantandi & peragendi ſollicitè Lectiones, Pſalmum, Laudes, Reſponſoria Officiorum, quis Clericorum debeat dicere. Ordo quoque & modus canendi in choro pro ſolennitate temporis. Clericos quo delinquere cognoſcit,*

Briſſon Lexic. Iuris.

gnoſcit, ipſe diſtringat; quos emendare non valet, eorum exceſſus ad agnitionem Epiſcopi deferat. I tranſlate it not, becauſe all, whom it much concerns, underſtand it. The ſhort of it is, he is by his Office to direct, inſtruct, reprove, puniſh and complain the Quire, as he ſees occaſion.

According to our preſent conſtitution, the next dignitary we have in our Quires, though not ſo much as inſinuated, that I can find, in the *Canon-law* (except we ſhould thus underſtand the title of *Cuſtos*, *Extra de off. cuſt. cap. cuſtos. Et, cuſtos ſoll.* which I do not conceive we ought) is the *Chancellour*. The name in our *Law-Gloſſaries*, has a double *Etymology* aſſigned it: either from *cancellando*, becauſe it appertained to the *Chancellor* to peruſe publick Writings, to *cancel* or correct ſuch as were faulty, and to give ſolemn approbation, by his ſeal, or otherwiſe, to thoſe he thought fit; Or from *cancellis*, becauſe this Officer being buſied generally amongſt papers and records, had his ſeat within certain rails or lattices for greater ſecu-

Calv. Lex. Jurid.

rity and privacy. The great Sir *Henry Spelman* rather approves the latter. From such original the name being taken, is applied to several honourable Offices both in Church and State. And in our present case, the *Chancellor* is a dignitary, to whom (according to the institution of *Osmund* of happy memory, Bishop of *Sarum*, and, as is said, Founder of that Church, a Church which deservedly wears the title of *Famous*, and whose statutes are in practice in many Cathedrals besides it self) to whom, I say, it belongs "to govern the Schools, to correct the "books (such, I suppose, which are copied for the use of the Quire) "to "keep the Church seal, to peruse and "put in order their Papers, to read "such letters and instruments as are to "be read in the Chapter, and some o-ther things, most part now out of date; I believe him regularly the Chapter Secretary. The last dignitary properly belonging to our Quires is the *Treasurer*, whom the Law calls by the name of *Sacrist*. *De Off. Sacrist. extra cap. Ut sciat.* To him belongs the care

In Gloss.

Extrac. Stat. Sarisb. M. S. Penes Eccl. S. Patr. Dubl.

care and cuſtody of the Church-plate, Ornaments, and ſuch like Treaſury, the proviſion of Candles, and ſome other ſmall matters. *Vid. & 25. diſtinct. Perlectis. prope fin.*

Now, though theſe particulars in the adminiſtration of the Quire, as others appertaining to the ſtate of the Church, belong by Law thus diſtinctly, as ſtated, to each of the dignitaries by themſelves, yet firſt, in the abſence of any ſuperiour, his power, for the regulating any preſent occurrence, is ſuppoſed, both by law and cuſtome, devolved to the next dignitary preſent. And ſecondly, as to matters of any great moment, to be tranſacted in either caſes, there is nothing done without the joint-advice and conſent of all the Dignitaries (or ſuch at leaſt of them, as can or will be preſent) aſſembled with others of their Brethren, the *Canons* or *Prebendaries* belonging to ſuch Church; which Aſſembly we call the *Chapter*, of whom the *Dean* is the head. So that, by the by, we may take notice, whatſoever ſome people talk of the *ſole jurisdiction of Biſhops*,

there is, as we ſee, a *Colledge* of *Presbyters*, whom, as need ſerves, the Biſhop calls to him, in every Cathedral Church: The *Dean* and *Chapter*, as odious names as they are to ſome, are no other.

But to return to my purpoſe. This is the Government of our Quires: As to the body of them, they conſiſt of *children* and *men*. The *children* we uſually take off from their parents, by their parents conſents, and breed up in the art of Muſick, and in ſome other parts of good literature, as we find them capable. And why it ſhould be any more unlawful to teach children to ſing ſweetly and decently to God, & to employ them afterwards daily in ſuch ſinging, in our Quires, than to ſuffer them to ſing rudely in our Pariſh-Churches, I confeſs my ſelf not able to imagine. The *men* are commonly ſuch perſons, as have been bred up in our Quires from their childhood, and therefore intimately underſtand their buſineſs, as to point of ſinging. Some few of the elder and more able of theſe are uſually ordained Deacons or Prieſts, for

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for the ſervice of God in the Quire, and in that capacity officiate in our Quires: the others ſtill retaining their Lay-condition. The number of theſe is very different, according to the ſeveral conſtitutions, endowments, and foundations of our Quires reſpectively: but a Quire of leſs than twelve, in duty bound to attend, I have no where, to my knowledge, ſeen, and ſeldome or never of ſo few.

As to *inſtruments*, we generally content our ſelves with the *Organ* alone, that indeed being (as now it is perfected) deſervedly to be preferred before, and ſupplying well the room of all other inſtruments; and beſides this its preeminence in variety and fulneſs, employing feweſt hands, and not obnoxious to be out of tune upon every little accident, or requiring new tuning each time it is uſed, as commonly ſtringed inſtruments do. Notwithſtanding we neither do, nor can condemn the grave uſe of *ſtringed inſtruments*, which therefore in the Kings Chappels, and perhaps in ſome other greater Quires, are upon ſome more ſo emn

occaſions imploied. But as to thoſe which I call properly *pulſatil* ones, they are not, nor ever, that I know of, were, uſed in the Chriſtian Worſhip, any further than to call the people thereto.

Sect. 4. Such being the conſtitution, and ſuch the government of our Quires, it may ſeem a little wonderful, that after ſuch ſtrict diſcuſſions of the expediency of all things, as this age has ſeen, there ſhould any thing remain amongſt us practiſed in the Worſhip of God which ſober men might eſteem obnoxious or blameable: and truly I know nothing of that nature, which can pretend to the authority of Sanction, or even of approved cuſtome, for its ſupport. The levity and unconcernedneſs, that ſome of our Quire-men diſcover in the performance of their Office, is, I am ſure, frequently check't, and not unpuniſht in ſeveral of our Quires. What is neer a kin hereto, their precipitant poſting over the Pſalms, and the like parts of their duty, as if weary thereof, and deſirous to have them at a ſpeedy end, eſcapes no better. And, I truſt there are very few places, in

in which, from any overt acts, connived at by their ſuperiours, the performers may juſtly be taxed of want of ſeriouſneſs. If there be ſuch inſtances, let all the world know, I apologize not for them, nor is it my intent in this diſcourſe, in the leaſt, to excuſe them. But, to ſpeak freely my ſenſe, the ſumme of what I judge moſt obnoxious to juſt cenſure, is made up of the particulars following.

Firſt, it may be conceived, that ſome of our Anthems and Services, as our Church-compoſers have ordered the matter, favour more of *curioſity* of *muſick*, than deſign of devotion. Whereas all Muſick uſed in the worſhip of God, ought to be reverential, grave and eaſie, accommodated as well to the intelligibleneſs of the words, as to ſuch tender affections and meltings of ſoul, as we profeſs it intended to beget, we may obſerve, on the contrary, our Gentlemen ſometimes bring us aiery, and even mimical compoſures, difficult and diſtractive of the Performers thoughts, and not conſiſtent enough with the hearers underſtanding.

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They contrive our Church-musick, in compliance with the vanity and vices of the age, and are more concerned to shew themselves *Artists a-la mode*, than to fit their Melody for the engaging their own and others hearts in pious affections towards God. From hence it comes to pass, that, Secondly, we have, in several of those new pieces, strangely needless and nauseous, not to say senseless, repetitions of such words or clauses I mean, on which no *Emphasis* lies fit to detain thought, or exercise devotion. If any word consist of consonant and voluble syllables, fitter than others to bear some little sequel of Notes, which the Musician fancies, it shall be dallied with, and toss't as a feather in the air, for no other reason, but because the Artist would shew his skill thereby, and tickle the ears and fancies of vainer minds: Whereas it is truly more art, I am sure it ought to be more the business of our Choral Masters, to reconcile musick, and the sense of the words. The Notes should follow the matter; and as for such repetitions, as the completing the Musick does re-

require, they ſhould be made on words or clauſes, which, by reaſon of their pregnant import (*decies repetita placebunt*) have ſtill a new gratefulneſs in them, the more repeated, becauſe they adminiſter freſh matter of thought, and ardour of affection, to the devout ſoul. Thirdly, it may be adjudged another fault, neer a kin hereto, that theſe Gentlemen chooſe out *words* for Anthems as they *ſound*, and not as they *ſignifie*. Nor is it enough to bear them out, that they be able to ſay, the words are expreſs Scripture; for, according to what we have above ſpoken, words may be unfit for Anthems, not onely becauſe the ſoundneſs of their ſenſe is ſuſpicious, but, becauſe they do not properly ſuit with the buſineſs of divine praiſe. Unſound, we will ſuppoſe, nothing of Scripture can be; but, it is not the hundreth part of Scripture that was deſigned for Lauds, nor ought therefore to be ſung to God Anthem wiſe. People might as well turn the Genealogies of the Patriarchs, or of our Lord Jeſus, into Anthems, as ſome places of Scripture which they have done.

Laſtly, I cannot tell, whether ſome may judge our ſimple Voluntaries, or Muſick, which no words accompany, not ſo congruous to the Chriſtian ſtate, and Worſhip. For my own part, I profeſs, they offend not, but help me: yet I will not ſay, but ſomething more apt to general edification, might be ſubſtituted in their room. This is the ſumme total of ſuch particulars in our Choral practice, as I can judge blameable or improveable.

Sect 5. Now, if we ſearch into the Original of theſe (and that is the firſt ſtep towards their redreſs) we ſhall find them, for the greateſt part, due to the want of Learning, and meet inſtitution in the common ſort of our Quire-men and Church-muſicians. To confeſs ingenuouſly, when it pleaſed God to *bring back the captivity of Zion*, if we were not *as men that dreamt*; yet we were truly ſurpriſed, and unprovided in a great meaſure, to celebrate, as we would, the happineſs God had vouchſafed us, and the wonderful and moſt undeſerved grace and goodneſs of the Doner. The truth is, the rage of the War, having ſeat-

ſcattered our Quire-men, and raviſht from them their ſubſiſtence, had alſo put them to ſeek their bread in mean, miſerable and illiberal waies: and thoſe few Principles of Literature, which any of them had; were, by that means, extinguiſht or loſt, rather than improved, their natural parts lowerd and debaſed, or worſe: ſo that the thin number of them, who ſurvived theſe calamities to ſee the Reſtauration, retained nothing but their Muſick, which poſſibly they would have loſt too in a great part, but that their neceſſities would not permit them to *hang their harps upon the willows*, their Muſical skill being the moſt conſiderable means of ſupport then left them. Nevertheleſſe, they were not then to *ſing the Song of the Lord*, nor any of the *ſongs of Zion*, but to contrive their melodies to the humour of ſuch who would feed them: The influence hereof, both upon our Muſicians, and Muſick, is ſadder than I will ſpeak of. Now ſuch as theſe generally being the perſons, which, at the Reſtauration, were to be made uſe of (or none) to retrieve

the goodly Choral practice, they contented themselves to indoctrinate those, whom they were to breed for succession, in what onely themselves now understood: and, if they made even the most pregnant of these to be excellent Musicians, they esteemed it a mighty service done the Church, and thought themselves amply to have discharged their Office. This I take to be the great reason, why many of our Church-musicians are nothing but Musicians. And, besides this, I do not know, whether there be not some little fate, or secret fascination, in the case, that those, who intimately study and understand musick, without great importunity, never give themselves to the study of any thing else, and admire no excellencies so much as, those of their own art. I confess my self to admire Musick, as much, I think, as any man ought to do: but notwithstanding all the value I have for it, I cannot think this alone is a sufficient accomplishment for a rational creature, or ought to be made, as it were, the whole business of a mans life: and it would re-

really move lamentation in any conſiderable man, to ſee how *ill* very great skill in muſick oftentimes *dwells*. Some perſons, upon this alone, may be obſerved to value themſelves above the moſt univerſal ſcholars ordinarily to be met with; whereas, take them out of that art, and they want the common judgment of men. And, though few or none of our Quire-compoſers may, I hope, deſerve ſo ſevere a character, yet, with grief I ſpeak it, if I ſhould be challenged, out of all them that I have known, to produce ten perſons, who, with their muſick, underſtood Grammatical Engliſh, I ſhould be to ſeek for ſome of the number. *All* the conſequences hereof I urge not, but, I may ſafely ſay, ſuch being the defect in theſe mens education, Hence it comes to paſs, that the younger ſort being intent on the muſick, generally neglect the matter of what they ſing; and the elder have onely a confuſed notion thereof: Hence, too, that levity, haſt and unconcernedneſs, which is obſervable in ſome of their performances. Theſe were the two firſt imputa-

tions mentioned. Of the ſame Original, alſo, is the unmeetneſs of much of our new muſick in exceſſive curioſity, aierineſs and difficulty; as alſo thoſe frivolous repetitions, and that playing with words abovetaxed. Nor, in ſumme, can I refer the imprudent choice of Words for Anthems, and whatever there is of like nature, to any more unqueſtionable ſource: and I have good reaſon to aſſure my ſelf, there are not a few of my mind.

Sect. 6. Now the redreſs of this defect is as *neceſſary*, as *eaſie*, though poſſibly it cannot altogether beeffected on the ſudden. That it is *neceſſary*, none can doubt, who believes the Worſhip of God to conſiſt in any thing elſe, but trifling, ſport, lip-labour, and gratifying mens carnal ſenſe: and all the *difficulty*, that is in it, lies in taking care, for the future, of better *educating* our Choriſters, and of *ſupplying vacancies*, as they fall, at preſent with men of more *ſolid learning*, though not of ſo exquiſite voices and skill. Muſick moderately good, is beſt, perhaps, to all intents and purpoſes; but

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of this more anon. In the mean time, the first step to a redress in this case, I have said to be greater *care* in the *education* of our *Choristers*, that they be not taught musick alone, but, together therewith, *Grammar*, and some *Humane Learning*; but, especially, that they be well instructed in *Religion*, by being brought not onely to repeat their Catechism, as usual, but intimately to understand it, and carried a little further into the doctrine of Christianity. For, it is plain, by the title of our Church-Catechism, it was designed chiefly for children before Confirmation: and no one can doubt their fidelity to the Church, who have propounded further methods for growing peoples instruction, as judging much more necessary for them. And 'tis certain, there is no surer way to make men serious and sincere in Religion, than by bringing them to a clear and good understanding of it. *That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good*, was the judgment of the wisest of meer men. This begets in mens hearts, a perswasion of the real truth and

Dr. Ham in Pract: Catech. in init.

Prov: 19. 2.

and importance of Religion, and that a ſenſe and fear of Gods Goodneſs, Majeſty, Omniſcience, and being privy to all our actions and thoughts, but more eſpecially, eying our demeanour, both of ſoul and body, in all acts of worſhip to him. Now, for ſuch inſtitution of theſe ſmall people as I deſire, I cannot ſuppoſe, but the ſtatutes of every Cathedral or Collegiate Church, have made proviſion: at leaſt I never knew, nor heard of any ſuch Church in *England*, which had not a Grammar-School belonging to it. Nay, even in all leſſer Religious Houſes or Bodies, where the Fraternity maintained before-time, a Grammar-
1 Edw. 6. c. 14 School-maſter, and a Preacher, it was enacted by Statute, ſoon upon the diſſolution, that lands, tenements & hereditaments ſhould be ſet apart for the maintenance of ſuch a School-maſter, and a Preacher. So that I cannot ſuppoſe any ſuch Church, as I ſpeak of, deſtitute either of a School-maſter, or a Catechiſt: and, in the Conſtitutions of ſuch Schools, there are commonly clauſes for teaching the Cho-

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risters. This shews us, the judgment of the Church-men of those dayes was not, that learning to sing was the business of a mans life: and, if any of our Musicians now are so fond of their art, as to tell us, if we will have boys fit for the Quire, they must attend nothing but song and musick, their ignorance is not to be indulged, nor they allowed their humour herein. After a year or two sole attending song, if the boyes are capable, and the Masters diligent, some lesser practice daily will perfect them, and a good part of each day may be allocated to such purpose, as I contend for. The influence hereof would be much greater, than I have yet spoken: for, by this means, our Quire-men being in part bred scholars, would be more intelligent and serious, not onely in their Office in the Church, but abroad in their conversations; and in private too, they would be able to entertain themselves, and delight in reading, study and meditation, which might both improve them in knowledge, virtue, and even in Divine musick it self, and also keep them

from having their time lly upon their hands (as now many of them have) and the intolerable inconveniencies conſequent, of which I am ſilent. *Pudet hæc, &c.*— Now, if there ſhould be any who are of a contrary mind, and patronize a practice contrary herein, I beſeech ſuch perſons ſeriouſly, and in the fear of God, betwixt God and their own conſciences to conſider, how they will anſwer God one day, for all the ignorance, idleneſs, irreligion and lewdneſs of a certain Order of men, which is the unavoidable conſequence of theſe their ſentiments and practice, and from which, in all humane probability, they had been delivered, to the preſervation of their ſouls, the glory of God, the removal of ſcandal from our Church, had they had ſuch education as the Laws of our Churches deſigned them, and I here contend for. I dare put it under my hand, there will never be a devout religious ſucceſſion of young people in our Quires, without a diligent Schoolmaſter, and a conſcientious Catechiſt, or ſome good perſons, who will diſcharge

charge to the Choriſters thoſe parts. And, except our Quire-men do approve themſelves, in *divine offices* ſerious and devout, *worſhipping God in ſpirit and in truth*, and paying to him a *rational*, as well as an harmonious ſervice, and, in their *ordinary converſation*, diſcreet, ſober, and, in ſome meaſure, exemplary perſons, at leaſt free from ignorance, impiety, luxury and idleneſs, we can expect no other fate to our Quires, than what befell the Neſts of lewd and ignorant Monks. God forbid, I ſhould ſay or think, all at the Diſſolution deſerved that character; but, if we may believe Hiſtory, ſo great a number of them were ſuch, as, in all probability, brought the judgment of God on the reſt. Not that I juſtifie neither all the proceeding of thoſe daies in that affair; for, I underſtand not deſolation to be a method of Reformation: But I juſtifie the Holy God, and own the demerit of humane guilt.

But to return to our purpoſe: This care being taken for ſucceſſion, till ſuch time as a more refined race of Quire-

men might be thus bred, I muſt confeſs, I ſee no reaſon, why Vacancies, as they fall, ſhould not be ſupplied with men, who have ſomewhat elſe to commend them, beſides their muſical skill. Methinks it is a little iniquitous to prefer muſick alone, before muſick in conjunction with other liberal Arts and Sciences. It hath really moved pity in me ſometimes, to conſider a virtuous, grave, learned perſon, who had ſerved a double or treble apprenticeſhip to good literature of all ſorts, and paſt ſeveral Scholaſtical degrees in the Univerſity, to have ſat down in a Countrey Vicarage, or ſmall Rectory, of fifty or ſixty pound *per ann.* whither, poſſibly, he might bring with him, amongſt his Books, from the Univerſity, a *Baſſe Viol* (the more portable and moſt conſiderable reſerves of his other inſtruments, and muſical divertiſements) which he could tune three or four wayes, and, betwixt his voice and it, with pretty variety make a little quire by himſelf: This perſon, beſides great diverſity of other Learning, and deep knowledge in Divinity, under-

derſtanding the antient and modern muſick in a manner from the firſt grounds thereof, & being fit to be a Profeſſour almoſt in any thing, yet, in frugality and content, ſhall enjoy himſelf and friends on that ſlender annual income, one equal whereto, our young gentlemen, puft up onely with their own aires, daily huff at and complain of, as inſufficient for their maintenance, and below their worth. Now, of theſe two orders of men, let even prejudice it ſelf ſpeak, which is to be preferr'd? But, to what purpoſe is this writ? will ſome ſay. Shall we think of fetching thoſe reverend perſons from their contented privacies? By no means: they do a greater ſervice to God and his Church, amongſt their Countrey Neighbours. They are happy enough to pity the Grandees of the age, and more may envy them, than can equal them. But there are in both our Engliſh Univerſities, hopeful young Scholars, of no contemptible ſtanding and proficiency, who, had they the advantages of ſome ſmall addition to their fortunes, might become as ac-

compliſht perſons as thoſe before ſpoken of, but it has been their lot to have miſs't Scholarſhips or Fellowſhips, for that onely reaſon, that the Houſes are full: theſe would be glad of a ſupport, which would give them leiſure for their ſtudies, and would with their hearts accept and adorn the places we ſpeak of. Beſides ſuch ſtudents, ſometimes we may find other perſons of another education, though not Choral neither, who underſtand Muſick as intimately as moſt do, and are maſters of many other accompliſhments therewith, who would not look upon the Quire-ſervice either as toilſome or diſhonourable. Now, ſuppoſe ſome perſons of either ſort (and both are ſuppoſed men of underſtanding and ſeriouſneſs) ſhould be taken in to fill up places as they become void, till ſuch time we have like hopeful Plants out of our own Nurſeries, would it not be more for the credit of the Church, and intereſt of Religion, than to entail this Divine Office on men, for the moſt part, meerly muſicians; touching which profeſſion, I need not fear to re-

record this obſervation, that, as there is nothing more ſweet than that ſoul wherein Learning, Virtue and Muſick dwell, ſo, on the contrary, there is nothing uſually more intolerably conceited and fantaſtical, than a meer Muſician.

There are onely two things, which I ſee objectible againſt what I have commended touching theſe ſupplies, whereof the former is, that this would be a great diſcouragemenr to our young Quire-men, who have been bred up, and done ſervice in expectation of theſe little promotions, which, according to this practice, they muſt certainly be diſappointed of. Whereto I ſay, Firſt, I conceive it will rather be to them an incentive to diligence and ſeriouſneſs, when they ſee it is not their meer muſical skill, but their other improvements in religious knowledge and virtue, which muſt prefer them: and if they are thus improved, God forbid that they ſhould be put by. As on the other ſide, Secondly, if they be, for the main, devoid of ſuch improvements, the places they have, be they

as

as mean as any of them uſe to be, are incouragements enough for them; and, if any of them think otherwiſe, let them ſeaſonably divert to other imploiments, and, poſſibly, both they and the Church may be better provided for.

The other Objection is, that by this means, our Church-muſick may become much poorer, and degenerate from thoſe refined perfections, to which it is at preſent arrived. And to this, I anſwer, in a Text of the Canon-Law. *In ſacro miniſterio dum blanda vox quæritur, congrua vita negligitur: & cantor miniſter Deum moribus ſtimulat, cum populum vocibus delectat.* It is not impoſſible, ſome men have been more curious in Church-muſick, than God or his Church will thank them for: and, if we will hearken either to Fathers or Councils, ſuch nicety in ſinging, as ſome men ſeem to affect, may well be forborn. Art, indeed, was by divine inſtitution to be uſed (as we have ſeen) and otherwiſe it is ſcarce poſſible, but that ſinging to God, muſt be one of the moſt ungrateful, nauſeous and reproachful Offices imagi-

Diſt. 92. In Sancta.

na-

nable. We would not therefore, that perſons either wanting muſical skill, or of grating and untuneable voices, ſhould be appointed to this Office, whatever their other learning may be. Let herein *Rabanus Maurus* his advice be heard, *Pſalmiſtam & voce & arte præclarum illuſtremqne eſſe oportet*: "Singers "ought to be excellent both for voice "and art. But it is ſure, that as this ought not to be their onely excellency, ſo neither ought their ſinging to be otherwiſe than grave, awful, and ſavouring of devotion and attention to the matter ſung. Thoſe delicacies, which by too much tickling of the ear, draw the mind off from the ſubject-matter, have, in the Worſhip of God, been ever condemn'd, and muſt ſtill ſtand ſo: and there ought certainly to be more ſimplicity in Church-muſick, than in that, which is fitted for curious and wanton ears at Entertainments of mirth. I cannot but tranſcribe that paſſage of St. *Hierom* to this purpoſe, commenting on St. *Paul's melody of the heart*, part of which *Gratian* too makes uſe of in the Diſtinction now mentioned,

De inſtit. Cleric. lib. 1. c. 11.

ned. *Audiant hæc adoleſcentuli, audiant hi quibus pſallendi in Eccleſia officium eſt: Deo non voce ſed corde cantandum eſt, nec in Tragœdorum morem guttur & fauces dulci medicamine colliniendas, ut in Eccleſiâ Theatrales moduli audiantur & cantica, ſed in timore & opere, in ſcientia Scripturarum. Quamvis ſit aliquis (ut ſolent illi apparere) κιθαρῳδος, ſi bona opera habuerit, dulcis apud Deum cantator eſt. Sic cantet ſervus Chriſti, ut non vox canentis, ſed verba placeant, quæ leguntur, ut ſpiritus malus, qui erat in* Saule, *ejiciatur ab his qui ſimiliter ab eo poſſidentur, & non introducatur in eos qui de domo Dei ſcenam fecere populorum.* The ſumme is, as the manners of Quiremen ſhould be very different from thoſe of Players, ſo ſhould their muſick too, not ſavouring of thoſe *delicate relliſhes* which may be expected at a Theatre, but onely in a grateful ſort tranſmitting ſuch words and ſenſe to the minds of the hearers, as may enlarge their hearts towards God, and *caſt* out of them the *evil ſpirit* (all vile and worldly affections) as *David*'s muſick did the evil ſpirit out of *Saul*. Let us hear alſo the words

In Epheſ. c. 5.

of

of an antient Synod in our own Nation, in the Year 747. *Presbyteri—ne tragico ſono ſacrorum verborum compoſitionem ac diſtinctionem corrumpant vel confundant, ſed ſimplicem ſanctamque melodiam ſecundum morem Eccleſiæ ſectentur.* "Let not the Prieſts in ſinging corrupt "or confound the frame and diſtinct "pronunciation, or hearing of the ſa="cred words by Theatrical Notes, but "let them obſerve or uſe plain and ho"ly melody, according to the cuſtome "of the Church. I could add more of this nature, but that I have above hat=ped on this ſtring. Upon the whole, plain enough it is, that we ought not to be ſo ſollicitous for the curioſity of muſick or Voices, as for the devotion of the performers and people: and it were to be wiſhed our hearts were bet=ter, though our Muſick were more ordinary: at leaſt, even herein, a *Mean is beſt.* Further, let us conſi=der, what many times we gain, in ha=ving ſo much regard meerly to exqui=ſite Voices: we take in perſons with ſuch voices, for their voices ſake, and as *Jeſurun*, they *wax fat and kick*; nay, by

Concil. Clove. ſhov. can, a pud Spelm. Tom. 1

by their own ill manners, they many times ſpoil thoſe their voices, and then there's nothing left good in them: Now can any man of ordinary devotion not nauſeate, in ſome meaſure, the praiſes of God, when coming out of ſuch mouths? Wherefore I ſtick to this former aſſertion, that one meanes to improve our Choral practice to more ſpiritual advantage is, to fill Vacancies in our Quires, as they fall, with men of as good learning, and as much ſeriouſneſs, as we can get, although their Voices be but tolerable; who may both themſelves ſing with underſtanding, gravity and devotion, and promote, at leaſt not prejudice and diſturb, the like *melody of the heart* in the people.

This ſame expedient too, if applied, would alſo ſpeedily redreſs thoſe other points ſuppoſed cenſureable, of any unmeet muſick, frivolous repetitions or leſs proper words in our Anthems: for perſons of the character given, would ſoon moſt intimately perceive thoſe blemiſhes, and either cure them, or, of their own accords, lay aſide any thing, if incurable.

But,

Sect. 7

But, is there no remedy in theſe laſt mentioned points, till ſuch new modelling our Quires can be brought about? Yes verily, and that moſt eaſie. For I do averr it, that particular Anthems and Services are not to be pitched upon, or choſen day by day, at the pleaſure of the Quire-men, or as they agree, but by the direction of their ſuperiours. Let them compoſe what they will, they ought not to bring their Compoſures into publick uſe, much leſs have liberty ſo to do, till ſuch their Compoſures ſhall be allowed by thoſe, whom it concerns in that behalf. Such ſubordination we obſerved in the Jewiſh Quire, that the chief *Muſician*, or Head of the Quire, preſcribed what for that time they ſung; and therefore, certainly, it was allowed by him, at leaſt before it was ſung. And, ſuppoſing that there are in our Churches Anthems and Services already allowed, to whom it belongs to appoint them, *de jure*, we have already ſpoken. But, as to the allowance of any new *Service* (by that term, we mean onely ſome new muſical compo-

ſure of our ordinary Hymns, the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *&c.*) whatſoever right the *Præcentor* might claim thereto, becauſe there is nothing in it new but the muſick (and to him by his Office, as aforeſaid, belongs the *Ordo canendi*) yet all ſuch allowance & right of his, muſt be in ſubordination to the Biſhop, as will appear by a Text of the Canon-law, preſently to be produced. And, as to any new *Anthems*, becauſe therein not onely the muſick, but the words are new, (new at leaſt, as to this kind of uſe and deſign) therefore none but the Biſhop, or he whom the Biſhop intruſts or authoriſes in that caſe, has power to give allowance thereto. This I prove hence: The *Act* of Uniformity injoins no other Form of Service ſhall be uſed in publick, but the Book of Common-prayers, and that in Order as eſtabliſht. That Book contains not ſuch *Anthems* as we ſpeak of, but in the Rubrick ſuppoſes, that in *Cathedral Churches and places where they ſing* (*viz.* in a Choral way) there uſed to be *Anthems*, and aſſigns the proper place for them:

there

therefore, there being no new ſanction, as to either the matter or form of ſuch *Anthems*, it is left to thoſe to appoint both matter and form meet for them, to whom, by ancient Eccleſiaſtical law and cuſtome it did before appertain: But, by ſome of the moſt antient Canons as we have ſeen, nothing might be ſung in the Church without (at leaſt) the Biſhops approbation; and by cuſtome, before any ſuch law, godly Biſhops, as we have ſaid, have framed or directed the new framing of Hymns, or *Anthems*, according to new emergencies, for the uſe of their Churches; and finally, the letter of the Canon-law is expreſs to this purpoſe, *Dum præceſſerit unuſquiſque in ſuis ordinibus ipſe* [i. e. *Epiſcopus*] *eſt præordinator in cunctis*: "Whatſoever preeminence of "power any hath within his Order, "notwithſtanding the Biſhop has a ſu- "perintendent direction or authority in "all, namely, over all his Clergy, however dignified: Therefore nothing new, as to form of words, or mode of muſick, may be admitted, at leaſt ſtand allowed, in the Quire, without Dist. 25. Perlectis.

out the approbation of the Biſhop: And further, it is plain by the premiſſes, that if by the connivance, or, which is more likely, without the privity of any preceding or preſent Biſhop, any thing obnoxious, in the regards before mentioned, ſhould have ſilently crept into uſe, it is in the power of the *Præcentor*, or, in his abſence, in the power of him, to whomſoever his power is devolved, to lay aſide ſuch obnoxious Services or Anthems, by appointing ſtill, from time to time, others to be ſung, which are not ſo.

Suppoſing therefore, as needs I muſt, that both the Biſhops and Choral Dignitaries, are perſons of ſuch learning, that they will eaſily diſcern, and of ſuch integrity and devotion, that they will not give their allowance to things thus cenſurable, in the ſtead of meditating any new particulars of redreſs in this kind, I will humbly take the boldneſs to become a paſſionate and dutiful ſuppliant to the Fathers, and all the Cathedral Dignitaries of the Church, that they will be pleaſed to conſider their own Right, and to reſume and exerciſe their

their invaded power, by taking an uſurped liberty out of ſuch mens hands, who know not how to uſe it for edification. It is not uſually difficult to prevail with men, to claim and take what is their own; and there being no way ſo eaſie, ſo natural and regular, for the redreſſing the points conceived obnoxious, as this is, and withal this being ſurely effectual to this purpoſe, if applied, I cannot but reſt confident, my ſupplication will as ſoon ſpeed, as it comes to the knowledge of any concerned hereinsif yet the matter I plead for, be not already the practice in moſt Churches. I am ſure all men muſt conclude it unreaſonable, that ſuch people ſhould at pleaſure preſcribe matter and form for the publick devotion (as our Quire-men do, when upon their ſingle fancy, they put new Anthems upon us) whom we have reaſon to lament, as not underſtanding ſo intimately, as they ſhould, the nature of devotion themſelves.

The onely point of this kind, yet remaining undiſpatcht, is our *Voluntaries*, of the lawfulneſs and deſign of which

we have already ſpoken; but, whether they are not improveable, & how, is at preſent to be conſidered. Poſſibly, they adviſe not ill, who would have little *difficult* muſick, and none at all which might be accounted *Mute* (that is accompanied with no Hymn) in Church-uſe. We obſerved above amongſt the various muſical Performances in the Jewiſh Church, what the titles of the Pſalms ſtile a *Pſalm-ſong*, wherein we found the practice to be this, the muſick begun, and the Song or Hymn followed: If this uſe were gravely or decently drawn into example, and in ſtead of ſimple Voluntaries, ſome ſingle voice, or leſſer *Chorus*, attended the Organ with a ſhort Hymn, many peoples devotion would be leſs at a loſs, and in ſtead of rambling at large, have whereon to fix; and ſuch a conduct of thought, as, it may be, many want. I have obſerved in ſome Churches, in ſtead of Voluntaries, a *Sanctus*, or the Hymn *Holy Holy Holy Lord God of Hoſts*, &c. to have been ſung, the Organ joining as uſually in other things. I wiſh that practice more gene-

general, or else that some Verſicle (or Heavenly ſtrain) out of the Pſalms were uſed, & then I know not, what malice it ſelf would have to ſay againſt ſuch practices nor indeed againſt any thing in our Choral uſe, if thus managed as is humbly ſubmitted.

Sect. 8.

I now come to conſider what may be done for the better regulating the Parochial practice. And the firſt ſtep to a redreſs in the ſeveral miſcarriages herein muſt be (as I conceive) the taking away from the Pariſh-clerk the power, which God knows how he came by, to ſet the Pſalm, as is uſual, or to chooſe what ſhall be from time to time the Pſalm to be ſung. Reaſon enough have I given already, in my poor judgment, for ſo doing: and none can imagine, but the Miniſter of every Pariſh may effect it at pleaſure. Let then the Miniſter, as often as any Pſalm is to be ſung, aſſign to the Clerk what, and how much, for ſuch time ſhall be ſung. And here I cannot but judge the Miniſters prudence will be ſuch in his choice, as to avoid the moſt of the inconveniencies taxed (for all of them,

I do not judge, can be avoided, till we have a new Verſion of the Pſalms brought into uſe, and, perhaps, ſomewhat elſe): Namely, nothing will be ſung, as we may reaſonably hope, in the Congregation, but what is fit, proper and appoſite to the Chriſtian eſtate, all ridiculous or Non-ſenſical paſſages in the Tranſlation will be declined and laid aſide, and, poſſibly, the people inured to ſuch a conſtant *ſeries* or known courſe of Pſalms, as that they will be able to ſing with underſtanding, becauſe they ſing what frequent uſe ſhall have made them well acquainted with; beſides other advantages, that Pſalms ſuitable to the time, or to the ſubject matter of the Sermon (which is much conducing to the benefit of the people) may be choſen, *&c.*

I confeſs we ſhall ſtill, while *J. H.* and *T. S.* and the reſt of that vein, muſt hold the poſſeſſion of that authority which no one can juſtifie, be at a great leſs, comparatively to what we ſhould be, might a new Tranſlation of ſinging-Pſalms be ſubſtituted for this ſo faulty one of theirs. And I humbly be

beg pardon, if I ſeem guilty of a Paradox, in aſſerting, that the Reverend Fathers of the Church both might (as I conceive) and would effect this, were it not adjudged imprudent to thwart a radicated popular humour, though unreaſonable. I have ſaid, the Biſhop of the Church, and none regularly by common right but he, may appoint in his Church the matter and form of Anthems: and thence I infer further, Therefore he may appoint Singing-pſalms, parcell'd out, and accommodated in the beſt ſort he ſhall judge, for the uſe of his charge; for that theſe Pſalms are ſung onely as Anthems: and, if he have power to do as much as this comes to, nay, the very ſame in a manner, in the Cathedral, much more has he in a private Pariſh. I add further, that ſuch Pſalms ſo allowed and directed by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, would be of much more regular authority than theſe, which the people now ſing: and even without the approbation or direction of the Biſhops, as to theſe which we now have, I muſt ſay, as there is no Engliſh Verſion ex-

tant, that I ever yet could ſee, which is not incomparably better than them, ſo there is one which has much better authority already, particularly, that excellent one by King *James* of bleſſed memory. That, beſide the authority which it derived from its Royal authour, was publiſhed *cum privilegio regiæ majeſtatis*, with a Royal priviledge from his Majeſty; and of what force the Kings Prerogative is in ſuch Eccleſiaſtical affairs, I leave to thoſe to diſpute, who allow many things in publick Worſhip, without authority from it, or indeed, without any other ſanction.

But perhaps, what many others, as well as my ſelf, would perſwade, might we be heard, touching this Verſion of King *James*'s, or any other to come in the room of that uſual, may be a good while unpracticable: and therefore, all the redreſs we can at preſent expect in this behalf, muſt be from the Miniſters of the reſpective Pariſhes, by their picking and culling out what is fitteſt for their peoples devotion, and inſtructing them in the due

uſe

uſe thereof. Commonly it may not be expedient to take a whole Pſalm as it lies, but here and there a verſe: and though poſſibly, ſome people would not endure the introducing of a Tranſlation wholely new, yet the altering ſometimes a word or two, may a little poliſh the ſtyle, and advance the ſenſe, and by this means, ſome ſmall amendment of the ſinging-Pſalms may be effected.

The next ſtep muſt be to tune the peoples voices into ſome *Decorum*, or tolerable harmony, that the Praiſes of God may be ſung ſo, as not to make a great number Loath the performance: and for this purpoſe, there is not any better mean than an Organ, which it were to be wiſhed in all richer Pariſhes were provided; nor would it be a matter of ſo great difficulty or expence, as is generally conceived. But, becauſe this can be had onely in ſome few Pariſhes, we muſt turn our thoughts to what other methods we can deviſe. And in the firſt place, let care be taken, that ſuch a perſon begin the tuning of the Pſalm, as has himſelf a tunable and

and harmonious voice, which may a little ſet the people in: Then let ſome others who will keep tune tolerably, be placed at meet diſtances, whoſe voices may be a kind of guide and government to the reſt. And if there are any (as in moſt congregations there are ſome) who ſqueak, or bawl, or otherwiſe by indecent voices, diſturb the reſt, let thoſe people be privately admoniſhed by the Miniſters, not ſo much quite to deſiſt from ſinging (for their hearts may be good) as to ſing ſoftly, and little above a whiſpering tone, to be heard chiefly by God and themſelves. Laſtly, let the mothers, or thoſe women, who attend the little children in the reſpective families of the Pariſh when they firſt begin to prattle and harp at tunes, be privately incouraged to teach them ſome ſhort Pſalms, and the tunes of Pſalms: for theſe perſons many of them have fine pleaſing voices, naturally muſical, and delight too in the uſing them; and withal, children generally delight in ſinging: now, why ſhould we not herein imitate the antient Chriſtians, of whom

whom we have above ſpoken, and breed our Children in their tender years to have the praiſes of *God* and *Chriſt* in their mouths? Every Miniſters diſcretion will add to theſe methods, wherefore I am the briefer in them; and by care and diligence herein, we may, by degrees, improve our parochial aſſemblies into a more decent courſe of ſinging.

I cannot conceive, I need to ſay much to perſwade any of my Brethren, incumbent on cures, to this endeavour. For, though as to ſinging to God, that, which we are chiefly to deſign, is that our Congregations ſing *with underſtanding*, and *grace* in their hearts, yet there being a *bodily* Worſhip due to God as well as a *ſpiritual* one, and gravity, ſeriouſneſs and decency being neceſſary therein, and withall, an harmonious concent of the voices of the people being a very great furtherance of ſuch inward affection, as ought to be imployed in ſinging, there is no truly conſcientious Paſtour, but will concern himſelf, that the *outward manner* of ſinging be ſuch in his Congregation, *Sect. 6.*

as *becomes* the *majeſty* of that God whom we worſhip, and may moſt *tend* to the raiſing that *devotion* which we owe. And ſuch perſons I hope will pleaſe to conſider further, that it is not meerly the outward manner of ſinging, the redreſs of which (where faulty) I have preſumed to commend to their care and prudence, but alſo the *unmeet matter* and *form* of what is ſung. Hath it not been made evident, that from the very beginning of Chriſtianity, and even under Judaiſm it ſelf, ſinging praiſe unto God was ever eſteemed a principal & moſt acceptable part of his Worſhip? And can we, whoſe buſineſs it is by way of office, to miniſter, & conduct others, in the publick Worſhip of God, juſtifie leſs care in the *praiſe* of God, than in *praying* to him? How comes it to be a leſs ſolemn act of Worſhip to *praiſe* God, than to pray, to ſing than ſupplicate? Of the two, it is certainly the more noble: and there is nothing on earth ſo like Heaven, as a Chriſtian aſſembly ſweetly joining with hearts & voices, & ſinging the Divine praiſes in the ſolemn and dedicated places of Wor-

Worſhip. Why then ſhall the directing and managing this Office, be permitted to a Pariſh Clerk, an ignorant Laick, which indeed deſerves to imploy the wiſedom of an Angel? If we would not truſt him to direct a Prayer for us before Sermon, why ſhould we truſt him to chooſe Pſalms for us? Eſpecially, when all circumſtances being conſidered, 'tis ten to one but he chooſes unluckily. I hope there are very few amongſt us much negligent herein; but if any of us be, ſeeing the negligence is every way inexcuſable, and moſt unworthy of our Office, let us not continue it any one inſtance more: For we may be well aſſured, that it will both inhance our own guilt, and traſh our peoples devotion; and it is no better than an affronting the Majeſty of God in one of the nobleſt parts of his Worſhip.

I have thus, with all freedom and ſincerity, ſpoke my thoughts in this other great *Chriſtian Office*. I am well aſſured, the ends I propoſed to my ſelf are ſuch, as I ſhall not be aſhamed to own at that Tribunal, where, the

moſt ſecret deſigns of all men ſhall become publick: yet I am not unſenſible, but there will be found ſome, who will judge I have ſtrangely overſhot my ſelf in cenſuring (or acknowledging to be cenſurable) ſeveral particulars, which are quietly, and, as ſome may ſuppoſe, laudably practiſed in our Church. Nor will they, or others perhaps, thank me ('tis well if either will pardon me) for my ſeverity againſt want of ſober Chriſtian knowledge and ſeriouſneſs in a certain ſort of men. I muſt acknowledge my ſelf of the mind of thoſe people, who had rather rectifie any thing which they ſee obnoxious (though not actually taxed) than perſiſt in and applaud, what it is difficult to defend: And, if I have been guilty of any harſh expreſſion touching any things or perſons in this behalf, it is truly my zeal for the honour and intereſt of our Church, that has tranſported me thereinto. I would not have it ſaid, that a Church, whoſe reformation is the moſt accompliſht precedent in the Chriſtian World (in the very judgment of Forreigners) ſhould

ſhould be outdone by any probable pretences to a more rational and ſpiritual ſort of lauding God, than what is in practice with her. I have not cenſured any thing, which is in uſe by any of her Laws, as far as I know. What little redreſſes or alterations in any caſe I have projected, I truſt I have ſhewn to be every way congruous to Antient and Preſent Eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, as well as to right Reaſon, natural Equity, and the general Rules of Holy Scripture. Did I know any thing herein contrary to any Law or determination of our Church, I ſhould either expunge it, or lay aſide the whole for the ſake of what were Heterodox, and not conform to thoſe Rules which the Church gives us, and to which I heartily ſubmit my ſelf, promiſing to revoke any thing I have written, if I ſhall be convinced of any diſcrepancy therein to the Doctrine or allowed practice of our Church, or to the great end of advancing true & ſpiritual Devotion.

In the mean while as the ſevereſt expreſſions, which have fallen from my Pen, to my beſt remembrance, are le-

veld againſt *meer lip-labour*, and contenting our ſelves with outward Melodies, when the heart is no whit at all engaged in the divine praiſe, ſo *I* profeſs *I* ſee no reaſon to repent of them, or deſire them back again: but *I* rather think *I* ought to reſume my concernments in that regard, and to conclude with freſh and earneſt importunity to all, of what rank ſoever in our Quires, whether the Dignitaries which preſide, or the Compoſers, or Performers, that each in their order will, both for the Peoples and our Churches, and even for their own ſakes be of Gods mind, by all their Art and Power deſigning above all the *melody of the heart*, and preferring this to any Opinionative ſkill, or fancies of their own. Such fancies may do prettily elſewhere: Quaint diviſions, ſporting ſhakes and Trills have a meeter place. *It* has ever been accounted of moſt dangerous nature to *ſport in holy things*. Wherefore, in the Name of God, let both all our *ſacred performances*, and even our *outward geſtures* in this the diſcharge of our Office, expreſs all gravity, ſe-

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riouſueſs and devotion: the contrary interrupts, diſturbs, and, in a ſort, profanes both our own and others devotion; beſides, that it brings inevitable ſcandal on our ſelves, and on the very ſervice we are emploied in. *It* is a glorious Character we meet with of the Jewiſh Quire in the days of *Hezekiah*, 2 *Chron. XXIX.* 34. *The Levites did help them* [*viz.* the *Prieſts*, whom, by their Office indeed, they were to ſerve, as being *inferiour* to them] *till the work was ended, and until other Prieſts had ſanctified themſelves: for the Levites were more upright in heart to ſanctifie themſelves, than the Prieſts:* And, ſhall the Jewiſh Quire outdo us even in Spirituals too? In a word, we ſee how reaſonable, how antient, how pious, divine and Heavenly the whole conſtitution of our Quires is. As therefore, on the one hand, we ought not to be ſhaken in our profeſſion and way of Worſhip, by the Cavils of diſſenting and humourſome (though well-meaning) men, ſo neither muſt we content our ſelves herein, that we are in the poſſeſſion of a Worſhip, outwardly moſt good-

goodly, and eſtabliſhed by Law; but to employ the utmoſt intention of underſtanding, will and affections therein, *which is our reaſonable Service.* God and his Church have provided we ſhall *ſing with the ſpirit*, the manner of our ſinging being with *Art* (a common gift of the ſpirit of wiſedom) and the matter ſung generally of *divine inſpiration.* Let us take care we *ſing with the underſtanding*, and *in the Holy Ghoſt.* Then ſhall our Pſalms be unto him a ſweet ſmelling ſavour: Our *Prayers* and our *Praiſe ſhall be ſet forth before him as incenſe, and the lifting up of our hands as the Evening ſacrifice. He ſhall meet us and bleſs us*, and that *in the beauty of holineſs*; & in *holineſs & beauty* we will again *praiſe* him. We will praiſe him till he ſhall *catch us up to meet himſelf*, & till *we ſhall be ever with him:* and then too we will *ſing* and *praiſe* him again; we will then ſing and praiſe him better, and world without End.

Amen. Hallelujah.

Of the Office and Duty of Preaching.

CHAP. I.

Of the *Nature* of our preſent *Preaching*, and its *Difference* from that ſpoken of in *Scripture*.

Sect. 1. *Different* Judgments *as to the* Nature *and* Neceſſity *of our* preſent *Preaching.* Sect. 2. *The* Heads *of this Diſcourſe attemperated thereto.* Sect. 3. *An Entrance upon the* Firſt *Head, by conſidering what* Preaching the Goſpel *ſignifies in the* N. *Teſtament.* Sect. 4. *The difference between* Preaching *the Goſpel*, Teaching, *and* Propheſying. Sect. 5. *What was moſt peculiar to that* Firſt preaching. Sect. 6. *There neither is, nor reaſonably can be imagined, will be in the preſent or future ages, any ſuch Preaching of the Goſpel, as that in Scripture.* Sect. 7. *The Nature and frame of our Preſent* Sermons Sect. 8. *The name of* preaching *taken in a* new Notion, *when applied thereto.* Sect. 9. *The main particulars of the Difference*

between our *Preaching*, *and that* ſpoken *of in* Scripture. Sect. 10. *What pretences there may be at preſent to the* Gift. Sect. 11. *The ſumme of the whole.*

IN relation to what we now call *Preaching*, the ſentiments of all ſorts who pretend to be ſerious in Religion (to which ſort of men onely I deſign theſe diſcourſes) may be reduced to three Heads.

As the *Firſt* of which I will ſet, the Fancy of thoſe men, who ſeem to make *Preaching*, in a manner, the whole *buſineſs* of the *Miniſtry*, and *Hearing* all the *Religion* of the *People*: As if to be a ſincere and zealous Chriſtian, were onely to be *Ever learning, and never to come to the knowledge of the truth*; to have *itching ears*, and a confuſed head, and an unſtable heart. With theſe men to have heard a *Sermon* is much the ſame, as with the Papiſts to have heard a Maſs: and however they are uſually great pretenders to, and admirers of *Gifts* and the *Spirit*, yet the moſt of them have but a very mean

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ſhare of ſober ſenſe and reaſon.

The ſecond Opinion is of a more ſolid ſort, who having obſerved the great miſchief, that ſome kind of *Preaching* has done, could be very well content to have a general reſtraint of that arbitrary exerciſe hereof, which all Miniſters take; and ſuppoſing that they had conſtantly the *publick prayers* and the *Scriptures* read, and now and then an *Homily* or two for the Generality, and the Catechiſm for their children (all which, I here make known, I am far from ſlighting) they would complain of no ſcarcity of ſpiritual food: but as to commonly new Sermons (though ſomething for ſtate and greater ſolemnity they would allow to Biſhops, and great Doctors, in more eminent Churches, and at certain ſeaſons) commonly new Sermons, I ſay, they conceive generally uſeleſs, if not pernicious. Theſe men mean well, but the eſtate of our Church, and the manners of our people would be very ill conſulted, ſhould their advice take. The World will not now be perſwaded, that the Miniſtry need no perſonal abili-

ties or gifts of their own, or that, having them, they are not to use them. There are men of very different principles, who will tell us to our faces, that if all our Ministry lye in the Reading to the people certain Offices, and Old fashioned Essayes, from the Book, they are as well qualified for our function as we, and can discharge it as well, if not better, than many of us; and that *we take too much upon us* in pretending otherwise. Now, though haply we may not be able to stop all such peoples mouths, do we what we can, or preach we never so often, or so well, yet it is not fit they should have so plausible a plea against us, as this amounts to.

The third is the judgment of those, who hold the *middle* between these two *Extremes:* and though they are as little fond of whimsies, novelties or changes, and as much admirers of our Churches institutions, as most men are, or any need to be, yet considering the *Genius* and manners of the age, and together the state of the Church, as of a Vessel afloat between two Gulfs (the wind, that blew her in, must blow her

her forth, and keep her thence) they conceive the Pulpit to be one of the moſt likely means, as well to reform manners, as on both hands to ſecure our Church. There is indeed a difference betwixt what preaching the Goſpel was at firſt, and what we call preaching now, as we ſhall preſently ſee; and 'tis not impoſſible, there may be a multitude of pretended Goſpel-preachers (an obſtreperous, unreaſonable and importunate Nation, that will neither ſpeak ſenſe and truth, nor hold their tongue) who cry out there is *Neceſſity laid upon them* to preach, when really there is, and long has been, a publick *Expediency*, if not neceſſity, that the moſt of them were ſilenced, or ſent to try that ſpirit of power, which they pretend to, in a way which ſeems to need inſpiration: But yet as to this, which at preſent we call preaching, ſuch of it, as is according to truth, holineſs and ſobriety, there are many crave the pardon of deeper judgments, if they think, and publickly profeſs, there is a *Neceſſity* both that it ſhould be, and that it

ſhould be frequent; and *Wo* be to our Religion, when ſuch Preaching failes, or grows more rare.

Sect. 2. To promote ſound Underſtanding and Chriſtian temper in a matter, which is now become ſo great a part of Religious Service, as the preſent Preaching is, I humbly crave to be heard with a ſedate, unprejudiced and even mind, while I preſent a ſober, and I hope, a modeſt diſcourſe on theſe Heads, which I conceive the different ſenſes of men, now mentioned, make neceſſary to be diſcuſſed. Namely (1.) Whether the *Preaching of the Goſpel*, ſpoken of in Scripture, and *Goſpel-preaching*, or what we call at preſent in uſual ſpeech *Preaching*, differ? And ſuppoſing there be a difference, in what points mainly that lies? (2.) Of what *authority* then *our preſent Preaching is*? (3.) On what *occaſion*, and by what *means* and *degrees*, this diverſity has come into the Church? (4.) What *Neceſſity* any men, in truth and reaſon, may plead, lies upon them to *preach*, as at preſent we underſtand *Preaching*? And Laſtly, what in probability would be the miſ-

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chiefs enſuing, in caſe what we now call Preaching ſhould grow into diſuſe, or be generally reſtrained in ordinary Congregations? And I truſt in the management of each of theſe, none ſhall have reaſon to complain of my want of temper.

For ſatisfaction to the firſt of theſe, it will be neceſſary to conſider, What *preaching the Goſpel* ſtrictly ſignifies in the New Teſtament, and then to reflect on what that *preaching* is, which we have in preſent practice. Sect. 3.

As to the ſtrict importance of this Phraſe in the New Teſtament, there can no notion be more certainly made out by the very Letter of Scripture, than that *preaching the Goſpel* ſignifies the publiſhing, proclaiming or making known the Chriſtian doctrine to people, who at the time of ſuch *preaching* had not received, or perhaps heard of, Chriſtianity. Thus the words which are rendred *preaching*, and the perpetual uſe of them, as well in the holy as in common Writers, moſt plainly prove. Κηρύσσειν is the moſt uſual word for *preaching*, anſwering the Hebrew קרא, whence

whence it seems derived: now both in the Old Greek of the *Septuagint*, and in our New Testament, it signifies to proclaim or publish any decree, law, or other matter of publick concernment, as an *Herald* at Armes does in the way of his Office. In the case of *Joseph*'s advancement, when he had interpreted *Pharaoh*'s dream, and, as an especial honour done him, was made to ride in the second Chariot Royal, Ἐκήρυξεν Ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ὁ κήρυξ. *They cried before him*, saies our English, or word for word if we keep the same style, *The cryer cried before him*; but that way of speech seems not to be artificial enough, nor to observe due *Decorum*. The title to be proclaimed before him was אברך *The King's Father*, according to that *Chap. XLV*, 8. *God hath made me a Father to* Pharaoh: Now, a Cryer, or Bell-man, does not use to go on such a service, but some principal Officer at Armes. And in the case of *Jonah* and *Niniveh*, Jon. *I*, 2. *Go to* Niniveh *that great City, and cry against it.* Κήρυξον κήρυγμα· Make proclamation, summon it to yield. Then

Vid: paraphr. Chald: Targ: Hierof: & Jonath. Ben. uziel, & Hieronym. quæst. Hebr.

Then upon the Cities repentance, *Cha. III*, 5. *They believed God, and proclaimed a faſt.* Ἐκηρύξαντο Νηστείαν. In *Homer*'s Greek, elder than this, Κηρύσσειν ἀγορὴν δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς: is, as by Proclamation, to ſummon the *Græcians* to Council. And according to ſuch uſe, do we find the word put in the New Teſtament. *Whatſoever is done in ſecret,* κηρυχθήσεται, *ſhall be proclaimed upon the Houſe top:* ſee too *Revel.* V. 2. *&c.* Now this being in Authours of all ſorts the import of this word, when we find it put into the Apoſtles commiſſion to preach, as it is expreſly *Mar. XVI*, 15. as alſo when we find it uſed in the Hiſtorical reports of what they did by way of execution of their Commiſſion, and in other like caſes, we can reaſonably interpret it no otherwiſe. Luk: xII. 3.

The other word ordinarily rendred by *preaching the Goſpel*, and uſed in that eminent, but much abuſed Text of the *Apoſtle*, 1 *Cor. IX*, 16. is Εὐαγγελίζεσθαι: This ſignifies indeed ſomething more, namely, to proclaim, or bring *good tidings*; but it ſtill imports the notion of New, (for what was known before,

cannot well be called *tideings*) as well as of *good* and *publiſht*. So that by the notation of this word alſo, *To preach the Goſpel*, will be to publiſh the glad tideings of happineſs and peace, through the bloud of Jeſus, to ſuch to whom this doctrine is new.

Sect. 4. There are indeed other words of frequent uſe in the New Teſtament, which ſeem to be allied hereto, thoſe I mean, of *teaching* Chriſt Jeſus, and of *propheſying*: But the Learned have alwaies obſerved as great a difference, as my diſcourſe deſigns, betwixt theſe terms; and that difference evidently grounded in the Texts, where the words are uſed, *Acts* v. 42. *They ceaſed not to* teach *and* preach *Jeſus Chriſt*: and *ch.* XV, 35. *They continued at* Antioch, *teaching and preaching the Word of the Lord*: *Teaching* it to the Church, or Faithful; *Preaching* it to the *Jewes* and *Heathen*, who believed it not. And this propriety of ſpeech is expreſly obſerved by the Apoſtle, where profeſſing his zeal for propagating the Goſpel, he reckons up many of his Travels to that purpoſe, and avows that *He ſtrived to* preach

preach *the Goſpel where Chriſt was not yet named*, that he *might not build on anothers foundation*. Whence we evidently ſee the difference betwixt *Evangeliſts* and *Teachers:* the former were perſons taken in by the Apoſtles to their aſſiſtance in converting infidels, the later perſons ſettled in Churches, to inſtruct the Faithful for further edification and growth. Rom: 15 02

Very near a kin hereto were thoſe called *prophets* in the inſpired daies; nay certainly many of the *Teachers* or *Doctours* were alſo *Prophets*, that is, had the gift of *propheſying*, in the ſenſe wherein the New Teſtament mainly uſes that term, and as it ſignifies *interpreting* or expounding the more difficult parts of the *Prophets* or Old Teſtament, and thence demonſtrating Chriſtian Religion. *Act: XIII*, 1. *There were in* Antioch *certain perſons, belonging to the Church, Prophets and Teachers*, as the Greek Text naturally is to be rendred. *And chap. XV*, 32. Judas *and* Silas *being prophets alſo themſelves, exhorted the brethren in many words, and confirmed them*, as to the grand Queſti-

ſtion touching Circumciſion and Jewiſh Ceremonies. If theſe perſons had been onely prophets, we ſhould ſcarce have found them in this great Council of the *Apoſtles*; we may therefore conclude them alſo *Governours*, or *Teachers*, or both. Beſides, thoſe, who have little kindneſs for Biſhops, will allow *Exhortation* to be chiefly the work of the Paſtor, and confirming the brethren in the Chriſtian Doctrine, the work properly of the Doctor or Teacher. And what could this *confirming of the brethren* here ſpoken of be, but, after the *Apoſtles* had delivered their ſentence, theſe mens arguing from the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament (the great Topicks likely to take with Jews) touching the reaſonableneſs and agreeableneſs of the decree. So that we muſt allow, both that many *Teachers* were alſo *prophets* (for what ſhould hinder more gifts than one to be incident, or concur in the ſame perſon? Or, what gift more fitly qualifying a perſon to be a *Teacher* in the Church, than that of *propheſying* in this notion?) and that *propheſying* in the New Teſtament,

ment ſignifies interpreting Scriptures, as aboveſaid; though (as the learned Dr. *Hammond* notes) not excluding, but containing ſometimes the gift of foretelling things to come, as we read of *Agabus* and others. That this contended for is the main ſenſe, wherein *propheſying* is to be taken, as thereby we mean a certain *Gift* or *Office* in the inſpired Church, is moſt plain from the whole *XIV.* Chapter of the firſt to the *Corinthians*, and from diverſe other places of St. *Paul's* Epiſtles on the ſame ſubject, too long and too many now to inſiſt on. That this may reaſonably enough be ſtiled propheſying, is evident from hence, becauſe ſuppoſing the interpretation given, conſonant to the Scriptures, it is but delivering the ſame Doctrine that the Prophets did, onely removing the obſcurities, and making the Vision plainer; a kind of continuation and perfecter advance of their Office. And this, the caſe of *Daniel*, as to the ſeventy years, will moſt ſatisfactorily evince. *Jeremiah* had predicted, that after *ſeventy years were accompliſhed*, God would *puniſh the King* Jer. 25. 12.

of Babylon, *and that Nation, and the Land of the* Chaldæans, *for their iniquity*; and that he would *visit his people* who were Captives there, and *cause them to return to* Jerusalem: The discovery of the Period of these *seventy years*, and ascertaining their accomplishment, from that particular occurrence, of *Darius*, son of *Ahasuerus*, *of the seed of the* Medes, being made *King over the* Chaldæans (which was a punishment of *Babylon*, and of the former King thereof, the Kingdom being translated from the *Chaldees* to the *Medes*) was a Prophetical act in *Daniel*, or a particular instance of the prophetick spirit in him, as well as many other passages of his, which needed a second *Daniel* to interpret them. And yet this was onely an *interpretation of Scripture*, for he himself saies he *understood it by books*, namely, out of the propheſie of *Jeremy*, which was at that time extant *in scriptis*, and in the hands of the Jewish Church. To alledge modern Authorities for this sense were endless, the whole stream of interpreters in a manner running this way; I shall therefore

Cap. 29.

Dan: 9. 1, 2.

ore content my ſelf onely with an Em-
hatical one out of the Antients. The
uthour of the Commentaries aſcribed
o St. *Ambroſe*, whom though *Bellar-
ine* is pleaſed to account an Heretick,
et he allows to be of the ſame age
with St. *Ambroſe*, writes thus. *Prophe-
as dicit interpretes Scripturarum: ſicut
nim propheta futura prædicit, quæ ne-
ſciuntur, ita & hic dum Scripturarum
enſum qui multis occultus eſt manifeſtat,
dicitur prophetare*; "By prophets he
"underſtands interpreters of the Scri-
"ptures: for as of old the prophet
"foretold things not known, ſo the
"Expoſitor while he opens the ſenſe of
"Scripture, which is hidden to many,
"is ſaid to propheſie. This indeed is the
fulleſt paſſage I meet with there, but the
ame ſenſe frequently occurs in this au-
hour, and even upon this ſame Cha-
ter. But of this ſort of prophets, we
hall have occaſion to touch again here-
fter; and what we have ſaid already,
ay amply ſuffice as a foundation,
hence to diſcover a wide difference
etwixt the firſt ſort of preaching, and
at, ſo called, in preſent uſe.

Ambros in 1. ad Corin. 14.

To

To return more closely to the point in hand, there is nothing that I know remains to make up the full and adæquate notion of what the Scripture means by preaching the Gospel, but what we may collect from a brief view of the Commission and Powers given to those who were sent to preach it at first. Their *Commission* was, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believes, and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believes not shall be damned.* These Preachers had the world for their Diocese; and our Lords thus commanding them forth thereinto, was their *Outward call.* Then as to the *powers* or *internal* accomplishments they went out with, those were immediately from Heaven. *Tarry ye in the city of* Jerusalem, *till ye be indued with power from on high.* In plain terms they were possessed of extraordinary and immediate inspiration; as elder Brothers, of a double or manifold portion of the spirit; by virtue whereof, whatever they delivered by *word of mouth*, was as *infallibly truth* and *Gospel*, as what they left consigned in

mar. 16 15, 26.

Luc. 24.

in their writings. And though there may be just question, whether that *Philip*, who *Preached Christ* to *Samaria*, were *Philip* the Apostle, or rather the Deacon (*Acts* VI.) and so, whether he had that immediate outward mission before said to have belonged to the first Preachers of the Gospel, yet, as I make no question, but all will allow him to have been an *Evangelist*, so I am sure there can be no doubt of his being immediately inspired; for so much the sequel in the History of him, relating to the Eunuch, doth manifestly evince: Besides that it is certain, *Samaria* at the time of his Preaching had not received the Faith. So that we are still inforced to conclude these two points peculiar to the first and proper preaching the Gospel, Divine inspiration for the assistance of the Preacher, & Infidels, or which is much the same, Jewes, for his Auditors: and truly I see little reason not to admit the third also, of an *extraordinary commission*: for, supposing the first and onely proper Preachers of the Gospel, to have been either Apostles or Evangelists, there is none of sobriety,

Acts: VIII. 5.

Vid: Act: 21. 8.

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will not eaſily allow their *miſſion* or *commiſſion extraordinary*.

In ſumme then, the Preaching of the Goſpell ſpoken of ſo oft in the New Teſtament, at leaſt that *Preaching*, to which St. *Paul* ſaid there lay a *Neceſſity upon* him, was a Publication of Chriſtianity to the Unbelieving world, and that purſuant to an unlimited Commiſſion (and by the infallible conduct of the Holy Ghoſt) given immediatly by Chriſt Jeſus. And I ſhall not conceive, I need to concern my ſelf in ſaying any more for the proof hereof.

By what is ſaid, it plainly appeares, there neither is at preſent, nor except immediate Inſpiration ſhould returne, can hereafter be, any proper preaching of the Goſpell in the World. That which comes next to it is the publick Reading the Goſpells to thoſe, who as yet known them not; for they are infallibly Truth and Goſpel: Thus the reading Moſes in the ſynagogue is (a little Catachreſtically) termed Preaching him. *Acts*: XV. 21. *Moſes of old time hath*

hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogue every Sabbath-day. And next to that, The publication of Christianity, in sense and terms as agreeable as may be to scripture, either to Jewes, Indians, or such unbelievers, who never yet so much as professed to own the Doctrine of Jesus. Now though both of these may with good colour of reason be Styled Preaching the Gospell, yet it is evident, neither of them comes up to that first *Apostolicall* performance in this kind, which, as we have said, can onely be accounted the proper Preaching of the Gospell, commonly spoken of in Scripture.

And Now to reflect upon the preaching in *Present* practice with us, and to take our Measures from Sermons, which deservedly we may account sober, Learned and Pious: They are discourses of this nature. The Preacher (as we call him) First, truly in the Fear of God & with good conscience, as he must answer it to the *All*-seeing God at the great day, considers the temper and quality of the people, whom he is to instruct, what from time to time may be most Sect. 7.

neceſſary and profitable for them, to make them ſound in the Faith, upright in Heart, zealous of good workes, ſober and peaceable. Such ſubjects being ſtill found out and choſen, he bethinks himſelf of a place of ſcripture, whence he may be able moſt naturally methodically, fully and perſpicuouſly to deduce ſuch matter as he has to diſcourſe on that Subject: he reads both upon the Subject and Text, he meditates; *Hoc amat, hoc ſpernit*; He ſomtimes ſees fit to change his firſt choice of Text, method, &c: and at length having reſolved, as he judges, to beſt advantage, he ſets upon the framing of his diſcourſe, diſpoſeing and modelling his matter, as he thinks moſt convenient for edifications poſſibly, firſt propounding his *deſign*, ſhewing how his *Text* is *pertinent* thereto, and to that purpoſe giving perhaps accompt of its *connexion*, fifting its *meaning*, making ſuch *Partitions* as he pleaſes, or it admits: He ſpeaks to each as opportunity ſerves, *Stating proving*, *argueing*, from *ſcripture*, from *Reaſon*, from *authorities* of Fathers, Councils or others. In the end, he en-

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deavours to bring all *home* to mens *Conſciences*; either Expoſtulating and pleading with them in the behalf of God, or Reproving, Exhorting, Directing, Encourageing, as the matter beſt will bear, or as he ſees moſt needfull. And all along he cloathes each part with ſuch *Expreſſions* and *Ornaments of ſpeech*, which he hopes may give his mattter moſt advantage. Is it not plain that this, or ſome ſuch as this (for I concern not my ſelfe as to thoſe little particularities of method, which ſome Divines uſe, or have preſcribed) is the conſtitution & ſtructure of our preſent Sermons? Sect. 8

Now of a diſcourſe contrived and framed after this manner, or any better one that wee may conceive, what can we ſay? Can we call this *Preaching the Goſpell*, in the true ſcripture-notion of the phraſe? We cannot certainly: For, as it is an Explication of ſcripture, if of the old Teſtament applied to Chriſtianity, it is properly, as we have ſeen, what the firſt Chriſtians meant by *Propheſying*; and if of the New Teſtament, it is ſtill

(at leaſt Analogically) *Propheſying*; nor is there any ſcripture-term ſo properly applicable to it: As it handles or entreats of any particular Chriſtian Doctrine, it is *Teaching* or *Doctrine*: As it containes what we call the applicatory part, it is Ex*hortation*, *Reproof* *Conſolation*, or the like; which by way of Office of old particularly belonged to the Biſhops or Paſtors of the particular Churches reſpectively. So that our *Preaching*, as it is at preſent exerciſed, takes in the work of primitive Prophets, Teachers, and Biſhops or Paſtors: but yet, neither is any one of theſe, nor all in conjunction, the Publication of Chriſtianity to Infidel People; for they all rather ſuppoſe Chriſtianity received, and are accommodated to edification of profeſſors, not to the Converſion of aliens. The name of preaching then, as it is at preſent given to our Sermons, or may be verified of them, muſt be acknowledged to have become a *Term of art* and to ſignify a *New*, and clear another thing, than it did in the firſt intention and inſtitution of the word.

1. Cor. 14. 6, 26.

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For the difference is great and in many regards. First, the Subject matter is *Particular* in our Sermons, viz. this or that point of Faith, or matter of Practice: The subject matter to them who Preached the Gospell was *Generall*, Christian Religion; to tell men what it was, and to perswade them to it, takeing the best occasions and advantages they could for every thing, and confineing themselves no further to any, than they saw reason from particular circumstances, and the quality of the hearers. *Sect. 9.*

Secondly, in respect of the manner of handling, there are many points of difference might be insisted on. Their preaching was Naturall, loose and unpremeditate; Ours Artificiall, methodicall and studied: But chiefly theirs was brief, Various, and Interlocutory. They continued their speech, usually, but a very short space, and then fell off, as their auditours gave them occasion into disputes and reasonings with them, answering, *pro re nata*, their demands, Objections, Doubts. Our discourses are Sett, as neer as we

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can Even, continued a considerable time, and I fear, as some auditours too often judge, tedious. As to particular doubts and questions, we must and do answere them in private: Respect to the assembly, and it may be to the very persons, that propose them, permit not that this be done, neither alwayes nor ordinarily, in the Congregation.

Thirdly, there is yet a greater difference in regard of the *Principle*, by which the Preachers are supposed to be acted. They were assisted immediatly by an infallible spirit, so that all they spoke was Gospell; and therefore they might require absolute belief and submission: we have indeed the *same sure word* of *Prophesy* as they had, bnt that onely recorded in Scripture. Our Argumentations & deductions from thence are onely by the strength of reason improved by study, observation, converse, prayer & the Ordinary assistance of the Holy Ghost upon all these: and they are so farr onely certaine, as they agree with scripture and the Analogy of Faith; nor do we urge them further upon mens consciences,

conſciences, than we can approve them ſuch. Then as to the applicatory part, they of old had that wonderful gift of the *diſcerning of ſpirits*, and by this undoubtedly knew many times how to direct their diſcourſes to the hearts and particular ſtate of their hearers. We can proceed onely upon common acquaintance with people, credible information, and very often our own prudential Conjectures, and therefore muſt needs in a great meaſure ſhoot at a peradventure. 1 Cor. 12. 10. Act. 8. 21, 22.

Fourthly, the Auditors, and immediate deſign, are very different. To the primitive preachers of the Goſpel, as we have already obſerved, the auditors were generally Infidels, Jewes, Greeks, Barbarians: To us real, or profeſſed Chriſtians. They were to ſuppoſe their hearers ſtrangers from, or enemies to the Truth: We are guilty of an un-Chriſtian ſin, called uncharitableneſs, if we think ours ſuch. Ours are as truly of Gods Family, as our ſelves; for ought we know, many of them as ſincere Chriſtians, or however, if of different proficiency, yet

all baptized with us into the ſame Faith. The thing deſigned by them, was the bringing their auditories over to Chriſtianity: We finding ours generally Chriſtian, can onely build them up in our moſt *Holy* Faith, the profeſſion whereof they have already undertaken.

Laſtly, There is a difference alſo, and that very great, in our very miſſion and ſphere of action. The Preachers of the Goſpel, in the Scripture-notion, were ſent either immediately by Chriſt with a Commiſſion to preach to *All Nations* for the gathering *Diſciples* all the world over; Μαθητευσατε παντα τα Εθνη· and when they had preached a while in one place with ſuch ſucceſs, as to gain any conſiderable number of Proſelytes, were to run into another (having frequently immediate revelations to this purpoſe) and ſo leaving onely a *Seminary* (that is the faithful, whom they had converted, formed into a little Church, little comparatively to ours at preſent) were to take the world before them. Or where the Apoſtles themſelves could not go, the inſpiration which was in them-

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themſelves directed them to ſend other inſpired perſons, who were plentifully in their Company, and to whom, the Holy Ghoſt guiding them herein, they gave Commiſſions, as they ſaw fit, as large often as their own. Of this ſort, and of ſuch authority were they, whom the Scripture ſaith to have preached the Goſpel. Whereas we are ſent immediately by the Church onely, and but mediately by Chriſt, without any pretence of inſpiration in the perſons immediately ſending or ſent, and our Walk is limited and appointed us; we are to have the charge of ſuch or ſuch a Flock, and to move onely within our allotted Verge.

There might poſſibly have been aſſigned ſeveral other points of difference, but I preſume theſe the principal, and amply ſufficient to my deſign. Onely *I* muſt acknowledge there is one ſort of *Preaching*, called commonly, but cantingly, *Goſpel-preaching*, the difference of which, from the Scripture notion of *preaching the Goſpel*, *I* have not yet ſtated. *Goſpel-preaching* ſome men call that, which is oppoſite to the

teaching men their duty. If a man cry up *Antinomian Free-grace*, if he proclaim the favour of God, and pardon of sin, and promise men Heaven through Christs bloud, without any regard to that part of the Covenant of Grace, which concerns us on our side, without any engaging them to an Holy and Christian life, if he extol a resolute Faith, and no need of any thing but casting our selves (even blind-fold) into the arms of Christ, this is *Gospel preaching:* Whereas he, who tells men, it is non-sense to talk of a Covenant, wherein there is not some part on both sides, and that the bloud of Christ operates not to the pardon or salvation of those men, who, by ungodly and impenitent lives, put themselves out of the Covenant of Grace, this man is onely a *Legal preacher.* Now truly such *Gospel preaching* as this, differs from *preaching* the *Gospel*, just as *Christ* does from *Antichrist*; 'Tis the preaching another and contrary Gospel, and if any of those men, who thus *preach* or thus *believe*, come to Heaven, it must be by leading better lives, than their princi-

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ples induce them to. But to return from these extravagants.

Sect. 10. By what we have already said, we are able to make a judgment of the pretence to the *Gift* of preaching, a thing that has made so much noise in late years. If we take Preaching in the strict sense, wherein the Scripture uses the term, to pretend to a gift thereof, is to pretend to qualification for an Office not in being in the present Church: Again, if we take the name in the new and more improper notion, the Gift thereof must import, not what the pretenders are Masters of, a little Theological *Lullianism*, or ability to prate endlesly on Holy matters that we understand not, but a sober insight into Scripture and Divinity, both Controversial and Practical, and to that purpose good skill in Tongues, Logick, Rhetorick, History, and great variety of other Arts and Sciences; and superadded to all these, a faculty of clear expression in each. For in the form of our present Sermons, we observed to concur *Prophesie*, *Doctrine*, and Pastoral *Application* of all, according to the

nature of the matter, and circumstances of Time, Hearers, and the like; in which last part, the great business being to perswade, it is not speculative and slight, but the most practised and profound Oratory, that will stand in stead: Now where are those meerly Gifted men, that can shew any tolerable share in all these faculties? It is true indeed, in the Miraculous age, Ἐδίδασκον ἀπὸ χαρίσματος, the *Preachers* properly so called, the *Prophets*, *Teachers* and *Pastours* too, many of them, did all by Gift. As there were inspired *Poets*, according to what we have above discoursed, so were there also inspired *Linguists*, *Orateurs*, *Disputants*, & what not? But amongst all the pretenders to gifts in the present age, where ever yet was found the man, who having not learnt Tongues by usual means, was able to read the Hebrew or Greek Testament into English? And yet when Gifts were really in the Church, the *interpretation of Tongues* (which, say the Learned, had a particular reference to that of the Hebrew) was amongst the number, and as ordinary as that of

Chrys. in 1. ad Corin. Hom. 36.

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propheſie, *Doctrine* or *Exhortation*. Where then would our Gifted Brethren have been, had not the deep ſtudy of ſome men, which way they judge themſelves ſo much above, furniſhed them with Tranſlations? And yet after all the advantages of Tranſlations, Comments, and even Analyſes of the Bible in Engliſh, after ſo great plenty of Treatiſes on all parts of Divinity, and of Sermons every day from the Pulpit, what miſerable ſtuffe is it, our meerly Gifted Brethren vent in this kind? They are to be much lamented, if themſelves are not ſenſible of it. Yet this very faculty which they have, what is it but an Ordinary and mean habit of talking, acquired by a certain unartificial kind of Education, and their own practice thereon, as before ſaid in the Diſcourſe of the Gift of Prayer. *In* ſumme, all that may be ſoberly admitted touching any *Gift* of *preaching* is this: *If* men will go through a due courſe of Learning by way of preparation, and then ſet themſelves to the regular ſtudy of Divinity, and withall to the practice of it, ſtudying too their own hearts,

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upon this their induſtry accompanied with their prayers, they ſhall undoubtedly find ſuch bleſſing and aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, that their minds ſhall by degrees be furniſht with Holy knowledge and Counſel, their thoughts refined and lifted above poor and mean *Idea's*, their affections by contemplation of ſuch Notices, as are ſuppoſed Treaſured up in their ſouls, habitually warm and active in holy matters, helping much Cogitation and even expreſſion it ſelf. In a word, all their rational faculties will be improved, ſtrengthened and advanced, and the more they exerciſe themſelves, towards, or in, what we call preaching, the greater will be the facility of it to them, and their dexterity therein. Their *two talents* by ſuch uſe ſhall become *four*; or their *five*, *ten*. In the mean while, here is nothing of an immediate or ſudden *Afflatus*; all is ſuppoſed acquired by rational meanes: And to expect Gifts otherwiſe is Idle, fantaſtical and Enthuſiaſtical; and, either to pretend to them as otherwiſe come by, or to put our ſelves on Offices;

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which require gifts above what Nature furniſhes the ordinary ſort of men with, when we have no ſuch Gifts, is impudence and ſacriledge, a profanation of holy things, and an approach to Blaſphemy, in intituling the holy ſpirit of God to our erudities & preſumptions.

Upon the whole, we ſee the *preaching* ſpoken of in Scripture, fell onely into the beginning of Chriſtianity, it being a *publication* of the *Goſpel* to *infidels* by *inſpired* perſons: and that even in that very *extraordinary* age, when once people were brought to the Faith, the further inſtitution of them was by more ordinary means, and in a more ordinary manner; namely, by *propheſie*, or interpretation of the Scriptures to them, by *Doctrine* or a kind of Catechiſtical or larger expoſition of the Faith; the Paſtours likewiſe in every Church did *exhort*, *rebuke with all authority*. There was ever in the Church an Order of men (though of different degrees and power) whoſe buſineſs it was to *feed the flock of God* with inſtructions, counſel and monitions. At preſent indeed, though we retain the

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Tit. 2. 15.

name of *preaching* ſtill, yet the thing we call ſo, is much different from that ſo called of old, being no ſuch extraordinary performance, but rather made up of thoſe ordinary kinds or modes of inſtitution uſed in the Church from the very planting of Chriſtianity, all of them being as it were conjoined in our preſent Sermons; which Office therefore requires not meerly ſome ſtrength and pregnancy of natural parts, or ſome ſuperficial knowledge of the Faith, and confident readineſs of ſpeech (all which together ſome men are pleaſed to call a Gift of Preaching) but Univerſal learning, deep ſtudy, and conſiderable practice both in godlineſs as a Chriſtian, and in the methods of communicating knowledge as a Teacher. And ſuch ſhould be the accompliſhments of each perſon to be admitted a *Preacher*, and ſuch our preſent *Preaching*.

CHAP. II.

Of the Authority *of our preſent Preaching, and how this Difference came in.*

Sect.

Sect. 1. *The* ſecond *Head proceeded to: and firſt of the* authority *of our* Office. Sect. 2. Different Orders *of the Miniſtry in the* inſpired *Church.* Sect. 3. *Of ſuch* Orders *as were to be of* perpetuity. Sect. 4. *Of the* authority, *that is, the* certainty *or truth of what we* teach. Sect. 5. *A proceeding to the third Head: and firſt, Of the* Occaſion *which introduced this* Difference. *Tis ſuch as juſtifies it.* Sect. 6. *Of different* modes *and* methods *of preaching. There have been, and ought to be ſuch.* Sect. 7. *Of what* Preaching *there was in the Old* Jewiſh *Church.* Sect 8. *Of what Nature the* Apoſtles *Sermons.* Sect. 9. *Of the Sermons or* Homilies *of the* Fathers. Sect. 10. *The original and continuance of Poſtills.* Sect. 11. *Of the* breaking off *of that courſe, and the introducing the preſent way, both in the Proteſtant and Romiſh Churches.* Sect. 12. *An* Apology *for the* Freedom *above uſed.* Sect. 13. Corollary *touching the* reading *our Sermons, and* Sect. 14. *Of modeſt* names *to be given to our Sermons.*

Sect. 1. THE Nature of our *present Preaching* being such as acknowledged, it follows that we consider of what *Authority* it is: for possibly being so different from the Apostolical preaching, it may seem to some justly to be little regarded. And here it will be necessary to speak briefly; First, as to the *Right* & authority of our *Office*, & then as to the authority of what we do in discharge of it,

As to the *authority* of our *Office*, or our Commission: We cannot indeed pretend to be *A*postles, or Evangelists, or even Prophets, as thereby is meant persons immediately inspired with the faculty of interpreting Scripture; we therefore must not, we do not pretend to such preaching of the Gospel, as was that by those inspired persons. But we do say, our *office* is set down in Scripture under the more ordinary termes of *Pastours* and *Teachers*, and that it was designed such offices should be of perpetuity, or of equal duration with the Church on Earth. We do say further, that even in that extraordinary age, all propheſie, or interpretation of

of Scripture, was not by virtue of miraculous and inſpired powers, but ſome (and that not infrequently) by more ordinary skill, acquired through ſtudy, converſe with thoſe who underſtood Myſteries, practice, prayer, and like uſual means: And nothing hinders but ſuch ſort of Prophets and propheſying may ſtill remain in the Church; Nay, it is neceſſary ſuch ſort ſhould remain. Now for the clearer comprehenſion hereof, it will be neceſſary we conſider in a few words the *different orders* of thoſe who *laboured* in the *Word* and *Doctrine* in thoſe Apoſtolick and extraordinary dayes.

Sect. 2. And though it may not ſeem eaſie (nor perhaps prudent to undertake) to define how many different Orders there then were, yet that there were different Orders, is moſt certain. The Apoſtle deſigning to ſet down for peace & regularities ſake in the Body of Chriſt, which is his Church, of what dignity the ſeveral Offices and inſpirations in the Church were, gives us this account as to the point in hand. 1 *Cor.* XII.

28. *God hath set some in the Church* First *Apostles*, *Secondarily* Prophets, *Thirdly* Teachers. The other, whether gifts or offices, as not so neerly belonging to our present purpose I meddle not with. What the *Apostles* were, we have sufficiently (to our design) spoken already: these had the plenitude of the Holy Ghost and of power (as I may so speak) extraordinary inspiration, and a Commission to preach all the world over. I do not doubt, but those *prophets* mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and in St. *Paul*'s Epistles, and particularly in the passages last cited, and said to have then been in the Church, were persons immediately inspired, and that amongst other gifts, especially with the gift of interpreting the Prophesies and Scriptures of the Old Testament, for the happier conversion and confirmation of the Jewes. Out of these I conceive generally the *Evangelists* to have been chosen, who were a kind of *secondary* Apostles, inspired persons, taken in by the Apostles to their assistance, and sent abroad indued with Apostolical power to preach the

the Goſpel where they themſelves could not come (for they could not be every where) and they were moſt of them, as Antiquity tells us, of the *ſeventy Diſciples*, whom our Lord ſent Two and Two before his face. Theſe were all extraordinary, and ceaſed with that extraordinary ſtate of the Church, and to thoſe onely it did belong properly to preach the Goſpel; for theſe onely were qualified with an inſpiration, which capacitated them thereto. Luke X. 1.

But whoſo diligently conſiders the Apoſtles diſcourſe in the Twelfth and Fourteenth of the firſt to the *Corinthians*, will find that there were even in thoſe inſpired dayes, *prophets* and *propheſying* of a more ordinary condition than that above mentioned. For *chap. XII*, 31, He conjures them to be *zealous of the beſt gifts*; and *chap. XIV*, 1. *Be zealous of ſpiritual gifts, but rather that ye may propheſie*; again *ver.* 39. *Be zealous*, that is, earneſtly deſire and endeavour, *to propheſie*: and in order to the obtaining that ability, as in caſe of another, *ver.* 13. *Pray.* Upon which paſſage, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtome*, Τὰ παρ' ἕ-

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αυτὸ διδόναι "Let each do what is in "him to obtain such ability: for, saith he, it is manifest by the Apostles prescribing such means, that it is partly in our power to obtain the *Gifts* he speaks of. But the same St. *Paul* is more express to *Timothy*. *Ep.* 1. c. IV. v. 13, προσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει, &c. *Attend to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine: meditate upon these things, give thy self wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear unto all.* Now as those were natural means, things which are not above mens natural powers, supposing an ordinary divine concourse, so that the *Gifts* attained hereby were not always, even in those dayes, immediate and supernatural inspirations, is evident as well from the nature of the means, as also from the Rules given by the Apostle to the *Corinthians*, in the exercise of the abilities or Gifts they pretended to, 1 *Ep. XIV. v.* 29, 30, 31, 32. *Let*, saith he, *the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge: If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all propheſie* (that is, all ye who are prophets) *one by one,*

one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted. And the ſpirits of the prophets are ſubject to the ſpirits of the prophets. Had all of them propheſied by virtue of an immediate and divine inſpiration, whatever had been ſpoken thereby, would not have been to be *judged*, but to be received and believed, as coming from the infallible ſpirit. And when he ſaith, *If any thing be revealed to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace*, it is plain he ſuppoſeth the perſon who ſpoke, not to ſpeak *by revelation*; for the deſign of the *revelation* to him, that *ſat by*, muſt be to controle, rectifie or explain what the other ſpoke by ordinary skill, or to ſome ſuch purpoſe: wherefore it follows, *The ſpirit* of one is *ſubject* in ſuch caſes to the *ſpirit* of another, his namely who had not the revelation (at leaſt at that time) to his who then had it. And the Gloſſe in the forementioned Commentary aſcribed to St. *Ambroſe*, is pertinent hereto. *Idcirco dixit ſubjectus eſt prophetis, ut ingenia accenderet hac ſpe, quod ſpiritus conatus adjuvet.* "He therefore ſaid *is ſubject to the ſpi-*

"*rits of the prophets*, that he might in-
"flame their natural powers with this
"hope, that the ſpirit would help their
"endeavours. It is further worthily obſerved by the Learned and Venerable Mr. *Thorndike*, that this command of the Apoſtles to the *Corinthian* Converts, touching *zealous* purſuit of ſpiritual gifts in this method, was occaſioned by what had been the practice of the Diſciples of the *Prophets* under the Old Teſtament: for thoſe, who are ſo often ſtiled the *ſons of the Prophets*, are to be underſtood onely to have been their *Diſciples*; and the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt *Jonathan*, a perſon well known in the Jewiſh Cuſtoms, accordingly renders them uſually תלמידו נבייא *The Diſciples of the Prophets*. 1 King. *XX*, 35, *&c.* which was undoubtedly the meaning of *Amos* alſo, when he profeſſeth, *I was no prophet, nor the ſon of a prophet, but an Herdſman*, &c. neither a prophet, nor a perſon that gave my ſelf to the ſtudy of propheſie. Now the practice was on this ſort: there were in diverſe more eminent Cities, publick places, or noted Schools, where a ſociety of ſuch

Relig. Aſſem. ch. V.

14.

ſuch as would, gave themſelves to a more regular life, and religious exerciſe, and eſpecially to the ſtudy of the law of *Moſes* (moſt commonly under the conduct of ſome confeſſedly inſpired perſon) that they might alſo arrive at the like ſpirit of propheſie. Thus as we find at *Jeruſalem a Colledge*, (2 King. *XXII*, 14, & 2 Chron. *XXXIV*, 22.) בית אולפנא *An Houſe of Learning*, ſaith the ſame Paraphraſt, ſo too at *Ramah*, where *Samuel* dwelt, and whither *David* fled to dwell with him: and accordingly our Paraphraſt renders *Naioth*, the place of *Samuel's* abode in *Ramah*, *The Houſe of Learning*, 1 Sam. *XIX*, 18. 19. And whereas the Original Hebrew ſaith *Samuel ſtanding* amongſt the company of prophets *as appointed over them*, he rendreth קאם מלי ף עלויהין *ſtanding as a* Doctor or *Teacher over them*. The like is to be ſaid of the *ſons of the prophets* at *Bethel* and *Jericho*, 2 Kings II, 3, 5. where the ſame reading of *Diſciples* is ſtil obſerved: and of thoſe alſo, over whom *Eliſha* preſided, 2 *Kin.* VI, as *Samuel* had done before over the others. It is true, the *Gift of propheſie*, as thereby

we understand an ability to utter things beyond mens natural powers or habituated capacities, was indeed of immediate inspiration from God: but that which qualified men for it, as a previous disposition, was the study of the Law of *Moses*, and manners suitable to it; and in this way, as is evident, of old they sought it. Now of those who thus sought this gift, some by divine dignation attained thereto; others, I say, stayed in that Ordinary knowledge, which by such studies they acquired. Nevertheless even these later are by the Scripture called Prophets, in the latitude of that name: for so I take those passages, 1 *Sam. X*, 5. and Chap. *XIX*, 20. *A company of prophets*, which our Paraphrast renders חבורת נביאיא *A company of Scribes*, understanding the *prophets* there spoken of, not to have been all of them inspired persons; and therefore giving them that name, which in after times was the proper stile for persons deeply studied in the Law, (1 Chron. *XXVII*, 32.) and who some of them had run a course under eminent prophets, but themselves not attained

to

to the like inſpiration; as was the caſe of *Baruch* (if we may believe *Maimonides*) which *Baruch* is frequently called a *Scribe*. See *Jerem. XXXVI*, 26, 32, *&c.* This acceptation of the word *prophets* for perſons learned in the law of *Moſes*, and Teachers thereof, though not at all inſpired, is founded on many other Texts of that Paraphraſt, who generally when he conceives the Text to ſpeak of *prophets inſpired* renders them נבאיא, but when of *prophets* by more ordinary means, and of more ordinary rank, he keeps to the abovementioned ſtile of *Scribes*, or מלפין Doctours, *Jerem. XXVI*, 16, *& XXIX*, 1, 15, *&c.* And ſuch as theſe, beyond all queſtion (though indeed not brought up under inſpired men) were the Scribes and Doctours amongſt the Phariſees in our Lords time, who *ſat in* Moſes's *chair*, and inſtructed the people in *Moſes* his Law, of which way of inſtruction we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter. Morch Neboch. par. 2. cap: 32

In ſumme; That *Propheſying*, to which men arrived by the ordinary means of ſtudy, prayer, exerciſe, and

Converſation with able perſons, and which was controleable by immediate *Revelation*, ſuch as we have found in the *Corinthian* Church, and have obſerved the Original pattern thereof in the old Jewiſh Church or Synagogue, that propheſying, I ſay, was of a ſort much inferiour to the other, which was by divine inſpiration: There were therefore even in theſe extraordinary dayes, a ſecundary and more ordinary ſort of prophets and propheſying.

Now as out of the *inſpired prophets* before ſpoken of, I conceive to have been choſen the *Evangeliſts*, ſo out of theſe more ordinary ones, the *Paſtours and Teachers* in thoſe primitive dayes. For I ſuppoſe it will be eaſily allowed, that generally the *Paſtours* and *Teachers* were perſons in a good meaſure skilled in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament: and that they all had that skill by immediate inſpiration, I do not know it to have been ſo much as pretended by any men in their wits. Προφῆται μὲν πάντα ἐνθουσιάσμῳ τῷ πνεύματι φθεγγόμενοι· οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι οἰκοδομοῦντες, ſaith the *Greek* Scholiaſt "The prophets (namely thoſe of the inſpired Order) "ſpoke

"spoke all from the spirit, but the "Teachers by their private skill. However though neither *Pastours* nor *Teachers* were necessarily, as such, (nor, I believe, generally) inspired men even in those dayes, yet they were nevertheless *Gods ordinance*. He who *set in the Church first Apostles, secondarily Prophets*; let also *Thirdly Teachers*. Ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς. They were of *Gods constitution*. And *Ephes.* IV, 11. *Christ gave some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastours, some Teachers*. They were *Christs Gift*.

Further, that there should be a succession of men, whose business it should be by way of Office to feed the flock of Christ, and that this succession should continue, or be of perpetuity in the Church, is clear. When our Lord at first gave Commission to his Apostles, he authorised them in this form. *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.* His Father sent him with a power, amongst other things, to send others, as well to *gather* together, as to *feed* his flock: and *as his Father sent* him, with like power did he send his Apo-

Sect. 3.

John XX, 21

Apoſtles. This power they well underſtood themſelves to have received, and accordingly did ſend others, and them too as they were ſent themſelves, with a power for ſupply of their own mortality, or where the Work was too great for them, to ſend others alſo. And it is moſt plain from the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and from St. *Paul's* Epiſtles, eſpecially thoſe to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that the Apoſtles in ſuch places where they had converted numbers to Chriſtianity, did out of the graveſt and ableſt of the flock, chooſe perſons whom they laid their hands upon, with Faſting and Prayer, and thereby ſet them apart, or ordained them to miniſter in Holy things, to *take heed unto, and overſee, and feed the Churches* in their abſence. Theſe perſons thus ſet apart and impowered, were called Πρεσβύτεροι, *Elders* or *Presbyters*, and we in Engliſh (as moſt of the *European* modern Languages have ſhortened the word) thence have the name *Prieſts*. Over theſe perſons the Apoſtles themſelves preſided, while alive and preſent; and afterward, in every [greater and more famous

Acts XX. 17 28, &c.

Church

Church choſe ſuch a particular perſon, as they ſaw to be fitteſt, and appointed him to preſide, both in their abſence & after their death, called both in Scripture, and in the language of the Church generally ever ſince, a *Biſhop:* To him within his Church, has ever appertained the power of ordaining others. Thus was *Timothy* ſet at *Epheſus*, *Titus left* at *Crete*, and others otherwhere. And it is moſt plain, that *Timothy* and *Titus* being ſent by St. *Paul*, did alſo themſelves ſend others, ordain the *Epheſians* and the *Cretians Elders in every city.* Of theſe Elders or Prieſts, ſome *laboured in the Word and Doctrine*, were principally taken up in inſtructing the Faithful, and were thence called Teachers: and he who was principal in any Church, we may account to have been ſtiled Paſtour. Others there were, who moved in a lower ſphere, as intruſted, qualified and impowered, attending meaner Miniſtries, and were from ſuch Miniſtration termed *Deacons.* And accordingly the Apoſtle commands to keep each to his buſineſs, or that part to which

Tit. I. 5.

Rom. XII. 7, 8.

he was set. *He that ministreth, let him wait on his ministring:* Deacons on the services assigned them. *He that teacheth on Teaching:* Doctours on instruction. *He that exhorteth on Exhortation.* Pastors on Pastoral counsel & conduct. *He that ruleth, with diligence:* such chief Pastours as are to govern, let them be diligent in their inspections. 'Tis plain, that though all these derive their authority from the same fountain of power, Jesus Christ, yet these are all different: *Having gifts different, ver.* 6. *Ruling* & *Teaching* do not necessarily meet, nay did not even in these inspired days, in the same person: Yea, even *Teaching* and *Exhorting*, though now commonly the work of every Minister in every Sermon (so much difference is there betwixt our Preaching now, and their Discourses then) yet, were not in those dayes alwayes of the same person. Doctrine & instruction belonged to one, afterwards. perhaps stiled the *Catechist*; Exhortation to others, and chiefly to the Bishop, as shall presently be further evidenced.

To summe up all: *Jesus Christ* sent his

his *Apoſtles*, and impowered them to ſend *Others*: They exerciſed actually this power, and did ſend others, and ordered thoſe *Others* thus by them ſent to ſend *Others*, to *ordain Elders* or Prieſts *in every city*, ſome of whom (as to the point in hand) by their Office and charge were to *Labour in the Word and Doctrine*, which we at preſent call *preaching*. Theſe alſo in their Generation regularly ordained others, as they were appointed and impowered to do; & the orderly ſucceſſion is come down to us in this preſent age and Church: This is the ſumme, of all the ſacred right, or Divine authority, of our *Office*, which as Paſtours or Teachers, we have or pretend to. *Sect.* 4.

Briefly now as to the *Authority*, that is the *certainty* or *truth* of what we *teach* in way of diſcharging this part of our Office.

Firſt, as to the *Foundation* upon which we build, it is of *Divine* and infallible authority, *Scripture given by inſpiration of God*; the ſame Doctrine which thoſe infallible preachers of the Goſpel delivered by word of mouth firſt, and then conſigned in writing.

We teach nothing neceſſary to be believed or done in order to ſalvation, which is not there contained, or does not, to any mans reaſon who underſtands common ſenſe, follow from it. If at any time we teach ſuch matters, which may ſeem leſs neceſſary, we let the world know, they are onely *prudential*, and we preſs them onely proportionably, and with prudential *Motives*. And herein alſo we have the example of the great Apoſtle, expreſly diſcriminating his own ſenſe and advices from Divine oracles and commands. *To the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord*, 1 Cor. *VII*, 12. And again, *This I ſpeak by permiſſion, and not of commandment*, ver. 6.

Secondly, as to our *interpretations* of Scripture, and *deductions* from thence, we proceed not upon our own heads. We ſearch what has ever been the ſenſe of the Church, or what the pureſt ages have conſented upon, and we interpret Scripture, where we can have it according to ſuch *conſent*, either of the Church Univerſal, or of the Primitive and purer Church. Where we find not this conſent, we compare Scripture with

with Scripture, and apply the Analogy of Faith, we examine the context, design, expressions, we pray the assistance of Gods spirit, we read again, we study, we consider again and again, before we presume to speak our own sense. And after all, we *exercise no Dominion over the faith of any*, but desire to be believed according to the strength of our reasons.

And Lastly, As we openly profess to all the World, that we are not infallible, but men *of like passions* with the rest of Mankind (though we hope ours a little more subdued to reason and conscience than all mens are) so on the other side, that we should not be so obnoxious to Errour, as are the common sort, there is all the reason in the world to believe. We are, as the antient Prophets and Prophets sons above spoken of, bred up in the reading and studying of Holy Scriptures from our Childhood; we are instructed in *Arts* and *Sciences*, and peculiarly in the *Original Languages* of the Scriptures; we *enter into the sheep-fold by the door*, *and climb not in* any back-way; we *give our*

ſelves up *to theſe things*. And then if he, who promiſed, when he ſent forth his Apoſtles to preach, that he would *be with them to the end of the world* (and that by his *Spirit* the *Paraclete*, which *ſhould guide them into all truth*) can now, the Apoſtles being dead, moſt of them (if not all) ſixteen hundred years ago, can, I ſay, now no otherwiſe perform his promiſe, than by being with them in their ſucceſſors, it is plain that if any ſort of men may expect the guidance of the ſpirit more than others, we are the men. This is the ſumme of the Authority our Sermons pretend to. For a concluſion whereto, I ſhall onely ſay, that were I a *Lay*-perſon my ſelf, I had rather in a difficult and uncertain matter, undetermin'd by the Church, err with my ſpiritual Guide, than venture at being in the right by my own ſelf-conceit and way-wardneſs: For as it is ſcarce poſſible, that the Errour could be in any great matter, being a point ſuppoſed not yet determin'd by the Church, ſo it is very probable there would be more ſin in ſuch my holding of the truth, or, at leaſt, in ſuch my

my venturing at it, than in an humble and ſubmiſſive errour, where there were ſtill a preparation of mind to embrace the Truth when ſeen.

I now proceed to the third matter of Enquiry, upon what *occaſion*, and by what *means* and *degrees*, this *difference* betwixt what truly is, and what now is called, *preaching the Goſpel*, came in? Sect. 5.

And I ſay, the true and great occaſion of this difference, is the different ſtate of the Church. The alterations in the ſtate hereof, ſince the Apoſtles departure out of the World, and the times immediately connecting therewith, have been ſo great, as have rendred that Primitive preaching the Goſpel, both *impoſſible* and *improper*.

It is firſt impoſſible, by reaſon of the ceſſation of that miraculous and infallible guidance of the Holy Ghoſt, which as it was not Univerſal then (for though the Apoſtles, and Prophets, and Evangeliſts generally had it, yet not all the Teachers of the Church, as we have ſeen) ſo it ſeems not to have been neceſſary in the Church any lon-

ger,

ger, than till the Canon of Scripture was finisht; the Church having that certainty now in these mute Records, which she had before from those living and vocal ones, the Apostles and Apostolical men. We therefore confess ingenuously, we do not preach as the Apostles did, because we cannot; and we cannot, because God hath not thought it fit or necessary to continue such a measure of his holy spirit upon particular persons, as he indulged them. In the mean while, as the present Ministry are not accountable for having taught no better than they could, so neither are the people, for having been no better taught. The condemnation of this age will not be, for having been meanly instructed. Let the people believe as soundly, and live as holily as the Regular Ministry teacheth, and there is no fear of their miscarriage.

Again, the Apostolical preaching of the Gospel, would be in a great measure improper in the present state of the Church. It supposed, as we have already made evident, the people to whom it was addrest, not onely infidel, but

but even ignorant of Christianity: now neither of those can be supposed generally of our people. Besides, we have seen it was various, occasional; interlocutory, which will not consist with the reverence due to the publick Worship of God in our Assemblies wherein we are to preach, nor even with the regard to be had to particular persons. For let any one judge, should we come, and in a short speech exhort people to turn Christians, and then give way to all the Questions, Cavils and Objections which any of our Auditours would put to us upon what we had said, or upon any other point in the whole Doctrine of Christianity, what confusion and ridiculous entertainment, not to say worse, would some mens impertinencies and weakness, others profane Atheistical vein create, both us and our Auditours?

Thus the great *Occasion* of this difference is manifest; and withall appears to be such, as that it justifies or warrants the difference which it hath caused, and leaves not the blame thereof at the door of the present *Preachers*.

Sect. 6. As to the particular *modes and methods* which have been used in what we call preaching, since this difference came in, they have been very various; and indeed they ought so to be. For it being our grand design to perswade men to the sincere practice of their Christian Duty, we must perswade them as we can, that is, as they will suffer themselves to be perswaded. And this justifies our alteration of method, stile, and many other circumstances according to the temper and *Genius* of them, with whom we have to deal. A Physician, that has a melancholy, humoursome and self-will'd patient, is not blamed if he cure him with a trick, though he never talk to him in terms of Art, nor write a formal *Recipe*. Let us bring men to God and their Duty, and it matters not much how we do it. St. *Paul* our great pattern in this part of our Ministry, doth not deny, at least is not ashamed to own the imputation, that *being crafty he caught them with guile*, 2 *Cor. XII*, 1-6. In other terms, he saw what course would take with them, and that course he took. And this

is the moſt charitable conſtruction we can put upon that great variation of the way of *Preaching*, which from time to time we cannot but obſerve to have been introduced and practiſed in all ages of the Church, as well ordinary as extraordinary. For we ſhall find, that even in thoſe inſpired dayes, not onely the way of one Apoſtle's preaching differed from anothers, but even upon different occaſion, the ſame Apoſtle's from his own at other times. We will begin with what certainly gave the firſt occaſion, at leaſt ſome precedent, to all ſuch preaching as is now in uſe amongſt us, and obſerve the difference all along.

Now that was certainly that kind of interpreting Scriptures, which was practiſed by the Scribes and Doctors in the Old Jewiſh Church; which that we may ſee as particularly as we can, we will trace it from the very firſt beginnings, or even appearances of any practice tending thereto. I cannot obſerve, that by any letter of the Law, the *Prieſts* or *Levites* are commanded to inſtruct the people in the *Law* at their publick Aſſemblies for Divine Worſhip, no *Sect. 7.*

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nor so much as thereat publickly to read it. We find indeed in the case *Leprosie*, this command to the people; *Take heed in the plague of leprosie, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the Priests the Levites shall* Teach *you.* And more generally, it is injoined *Aaron and his sons*, that they should *not drink wine nor strong drink, when they went into the Tabernacle of the Lord*, to the end that *they might put a difference between the holy and unholy, and between clean and unclean*, (that is, judge aright in all cases of conscience, which they should meet with) *And that they might teach the children of* Israel *all the statutes, which the Lord had spoken.* Both these places indeed suppose the Priests and Levites were to instruct the people in their duty according to the Law of *Moses*: And it is further a part of dying *Moses* his benediction to the Tribe of *Levi*, *They shall teach* Jacob *thy judgments, and* Israel *thy law*, Deut. *XXXIII*, 10. But if we consider all these places with regard to the respective connexions and dependances of each, we shall find that *Teaching* to have

Deut. 24. 8.

Levit: 9, 10, 11.

have been onely the Prieſts deciding emergent difficulties, or reſolving doubts and Caſes of Conſciences, touching the obligation of particular points of the Law, as ſpiritual Guides and Judges in ſuch matters: The pronouncing to ſuch as came to conſult them, what the obligation of the Law was, and particular reſolving their Conſciences therein, moſt plainly, I ſay, appears to have been the *Teaching* there ſpoken of. And correſpondent hereto is that paſſage in *Malachi* (Chap. II, 7.) *The Prieſts lips ſhould preſerve knowledge, for he is the Meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts*; where what is in the *Hebrew* מלאך *Meſſenger*, our *Paraphraſt* renders משמש קדם *He miniſtreth before the Lord*, of which rendring, the above celebrated Maſter *Thorndike* tells us, the *Jewes* give this reaſon, "For ſtanding to miniſter before the Lord in the Temple, he is "alwayes ready for thoſe purpoſes of ſatisfying their inquiries. Now this is very ſhort of Lectures in courſe, or ſolemn Expoſitions of the Law at all their publick Aſſemblies.

And as to any *reading* of the Law, all

the expreſs injunctions thereof that I can find, were onely for the Kings reading it privately, *Deut. XVII*, 19. and for a publick reading it *at the end of every ſeven years, in the year of the releaſe, at the feaſt of the Tabernacles*, Deut. *XXXI*, 10. But who was publickly to read it then, will be ſome queſtion: If we may interpret the meaning of the Text by the *Jewes* practice in this caſe, truly not the Prieſts or Levites. Let us hear the Comment of the Learned P. *Fagius* upon the Text. *When all* Iſrael *is come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he ſhall chooſe, thou ſhalt read this law before all* Iſrael *in their hearing*, ver. 11. *Loquitur* Moſi, *& qui eum locum in populo poſt illum obtinerent, &c.* "He ſpeaks, ſaith he, to *Moſes*, "and to thoſe who ſhould be his ſucceſ- "ſors in that place, as were their "Kings, and before them their Judges. "In the time of the Kings, the King "himſelf, in the Women's Court, be- "cauſe that was the largeſt of any of "the Courts of the Temple, from an "high place, that is a woodden Pulpit, "which they called בימה read the law,

not

"not all of it, but ſome chief places "out of *Deuteronomy*, that the people "might be ſtirred up, and as it were "molded into the performance of it.—Furthermore (as after a while he proceeds) "it was the ſolemn uſe, accor-"ding to what the *Hebrews* report, "that at ſuch time as the King read, "and publiſhed the Law in the Wo-"mens Court, *Levites* appointed to "this purpoſe, called together the "people with Trumpets through all "the City of *Jeruſalem*, and ſtirred "up the whole multitude to the hear-"ing of the Law: that being wrapt in-"to admiration by ſuch ſolennity, they "might begin more attentively to hear-"ken, and thoſe, who were yet ig-"norant of the matter, might more "diligently inquire. More he has to this effect. Herewith alſo agree Mr. *Ainſworth*'s Annotations. "This was, "ſaith he, "performed by the Chiefeſt "of them, either the High Prieſt, as "*Ezra*, or the King: For this Com-"mandment was to *Joſhua* (more right "in that than *Fagius*, ſee *ver.* 7.) and "therefore the King read it.—The King

read

"read ſitting, and if ſtanding, it was
"more commendable. He read from
"the beginning of *Deuteronomy*, &c.
"They ſet up a great Pulpit of Wood
"in the midſt of the Court-yard, and
"the King went up and ſat therein,
"and all *Iſrael* gathered round about
"him. And the Miniſter of the Syna-
"gogue took the Book of the Law, and
"gave it to the ruler of the Synagogue:
"And the ruler of the Synagogue gave
"it to the *Sagan* or Captain of the
"Temple (*Acts* V. 24.) and the *Sa-*
"*gan* gave it to the High Prieſt, and
"the High Prieſt to the King, to ho-
"nour him before the multitude. And
"the King took it ſtanding, and if he
"would he ſat down and read, &c.
More is to be had there, out of the Rabbies, of the particular Rites and Circumſtances at this ſolemnity: but this is amply enough to our purpoſe. Now hereby it does not at all appear, that it was either the Duty, or the Cuſtome from the beginning of the *Jewiſh* Church, for the Prieſts or Levites ſo much as to read the Law to the people in their ſolemn Aſſemblies: And though

it

it may be ſaid, from *Moſes* his *writing* this *Law*, *and delivering it to the Prieſts the ſons of* Levi, *which bare the Ark of the Covenant*, that this his committing it to them, was in order to their reading it to the people, yet this is *Gratis dictum*, and the reply is eaſie; he gave it to them as the Keepers of the *Holy things*, as they *bore the Ark of the Covenant*: and beſides he gave it not to them alone, but alſo *to all the Elders of* Iſrael. The publick reading of the Law in the dayes of *Joſhua* (Joſh. *VIII*, 34.) was occaſional: ſo too was that in the dayes of good *Joſiah*, 2 Kings XXIII, 2. But in neither inſtance was it performed by the Levites, but, according to what has been already ſpoken out of the late cited Authours, by the Chieftains of the people, *Joſhua*, and *Joſiah* themſelves. Of the ſame nature too (occaſional I mean, not ſolemn, and by way of ſettled courſe in the publick Worſhip) was that *Teaching*, performed indeed by the *Levites* (aſſiſted by the *Princes* to bring the people into obedience) at the command of *Jehoſhaphat*, and deſigned for the reformation

of what abuſes, oblivion and a long neglect of the Law had introduced. In a word, it is generally received by the learned, that the Weekly reading the Law in the publick Aſſemblies, was brought in by *Ezra* (however as ſome ſay it was appointed before) and not in uſe till his time. That, which before his dayes ſupplied the abſence of this Office, was the frequency of Prophets, which God raiſed up ſtill amongſt the people as occaſion required. So that hitherto, (till the time of *Ezra* I mean) we can find no *preaching* in the Jewiſh Church, but either the Prieſts declaring the obligation of the Law, in caſes put to them as doubts aroſe, what was clean, what unclean, what fit to be ſacrificed, what not; Or publick reading it (eſpecially the Book of *Deuteronomy*, which moſt ſay was the onely Book firſt uſed to be read publickly) once in ſeven years by the King or Chief Governour; Or laſtly, the prophets reprehenſions, exhortations, inſtructions and predictions, according as they were immediately directed by the Holy Ghoſt, which pro-

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pheſies were all of infallible authority, and moſt of them in all probability recorded in the Scripture.

We are now to ſee what *Ezra* ſet up: And if we reſt in what the Scripture records, we ſhall ſurely come ſhort of any weekly or daily courſe. In the firſt inſtance of his practice, we have little or nothing new, but what ſome particular circumſtances in the ſtate of the Jewiſh affairs did then require. For the publick reading of the Law, then was partly occaſional and extraordinary (as that in *Joſhua*'s and *Joſiah*'s time before mentioned) and partly in purſuance of the Command, *Deut. XXXI*, touching the ſeventh years courſe. We will view the place, *Nehem. VIII*, 1, 2, 3. *All the people gathered themſelves together as one man into the ſtreet, and they ſpake unto* Ezra *the Scribe to bring the Book of the Law of* Moſes, *which the Lord commanded Iſrael. And* Ezra *the Prieſt brought the Book of the Law before the Congregation both of men and women—And he read therein before the ſtreet that was before the Water-gate from the morning* [or firſt day-light] *until the mid-day. And* Ezra

ra *the Scribe ſtood upon a Pulpit of wood which they had made for the purpoſe, &c.* In ſhort, the City being now built and repleniſht with inhabitants (Ch. *VII*, 73) newly returned from the Captivity, the people, in order to further ſettlement, required the Laws, by which they were to live. Here is the extraordinary occaſion. And with this the peoples importunity, haply did concur (at leaſt very nearly) the time by the very letter appointed for the publick reading of the Law: For it was *in the ſeventh moneth*, Chap. VII, laſt, and VIII, 2, that is in the moneth *Tiſri*, our *September*, into which moneth fell the Feaſt of Tabernacles, *Levit. XXIII*, 24; at which time it was injoined, the Law ſhould be read, *Deut. XXXI*, 10. Unto which command, that *Ezra* had regard, is evident from all the circumſtances; *He read before all* Iſrael *gathered together, from a Pulpit of wood*, as the Cuſtome was; placed indeed in the midſt of the ſtreet, the Courts of the Temple not being able to contain the multitude: and he *read, from the firſt day light to the mid day*; not a ſingle *Paraſha* or Fifty

fourth

fourth part of the law (for then they could never have advanced ſo far, as by the ſecond dayes reading, to have found it written in the law, that they ſhould keep the Feaſt of Tabernacles, as they had *ver.* 14.) nor any ſuch portion as the Jewes pretend to be of *Ezra*'s inſtitution. Now as to *Ezra*'s reading, and *Jeſhua*'s, and *Bani*'s, and the other Levites *giving the ſenſe, and cauſing the people to underſtand the reading*, this was no commenting on, or expounding the Text, but a bare rendring of it into a Dialect, which the people underſtood. They were but now returned from *Babylon*, where they had (what they ſay they did not in *Egypt*, nor in all their wandrings in the Wilderneſs) changed their language, and they now ſpoke *Chaldee*, ſo that the Original *Hebrew* wherein the law was writt, was become ſtrange to them, and they needed interpreters: Accordingly, though the law was read, as writ, in *Hebrew*, yet theſe interpreters all along rendred it in *Chaldee*, as the people underſtood. And this Text I take to be a very pertinent one, to prove that the Scriptures

ought to be translated into the Vulgar Tongues of all people that have them; but I conceive it wronged, if extended further.

The other instance of *Ezra*'s practice, we have Chap. IX, 1, 2, 3. Now that *reading*, I mean the reading at that season, cannot that I know of, be founded upon any precept of the law; for it was upon a solemn Fast kept by all the people, not by the law, but upon publick Order and Custome amongst themselves: and they *read one fourth part of the day, and one fourth part they confessed.* Yet forasmuch as it is said of the Readers, that *they stood up in their place, and read*, it would seem that this was in course and usual on such Fasts; at least that this was the beginning of some such course for the future. This is the summe of what reading of the law I find recorded in Scripture to have been set up by *Ezra.*

As to any thing more, we must be beholding to Jewish rradition for it; and that perhaps may fix the institution of publick reading the law three times

a Week, on an elder and greater Authour than *Ezra*: for thus ſaith *Maimonides*, *our Maſter* Moſes *appointed* Iſrael *to read the law at Morning-prayer upon the Sabbath day, and upon the Second and the Fifth day* [that is, *Saturday*, *Munday* and *Thurſday*] *that they might not reſt three dayes from hearing the law: And* Ezra *appointed to read it at Evening Prayer upon the Sabbath, becauſe of idle perſons. And he ordered that three ſhould read on the ſecond and fifth dayes, and none leſs than ten verſes.* But ſtill we have bare reading, no Expoſition or Comment: this came in by little and little after the dayes of *Ezra*, as is affirmed amongſt others, and I conceive moſt truly, by the learned *Peter Cunæus* in theſe words; *Sub priore templo lex recitata duntaxat à* Levitis *populo eſt, aut etiam domi à ſingulis legebatur; interpretatio Magiſtrorum commentatioq; nulla erat. At ſub poſteriore, oraculis ceſſantibus, receptum paulatim more publico eſt, ut verba* Biblici *contextus ſenſaq; explicarentur; ad quam rem eruditi ingenium ſuum advocavere:* "Under the firſt "Temple, the law was onely read by the

Tephill. Ubirch Cohen. cap. 12. n. 1.

De Repub. Hebr. l. 2. c. 17.

"the *Levites* to the people, or every "man read it privately at home, there "was no Expoſition or Comment of "the Doctours: But under the later, "Oracles, that is, inſpired propheſies, "ceaſing, by publick practice it grew "in uſe, by little and little, that the "words and ſenſe of the Holy Text "were expounded: to which purpoſe "the learned amongſt them applied "their wit and ſtudy. This, I ſay, I take for a great truth, as to the date of their Expoſitions; but yet cannot but much admire, that if the publick reading of the law in ſo frequent returns of courſe were appointed by *Moſes*, it ſhould not be more conſtantly practiſed before *Ezra*'s dayes; or if practiſed, that we ſhould hear nothing of it in holy Scripture. I know indeed almoſt as much, as what *Maimonides* ſaies, is ſaid of *Moſes* by others: by *Joſephus*, Ἐκέλευε Ἐβδομάδος, &c. Adv. Appi. or. 2 M ſes *commanded to aſſemble for the hearing of the law every Week, ceaſing from other works, and that we ſhould exactly learn it.* And there is a paſſage or two in *Philo Judæus* in his third Book *de Vita* Moſis, which look

look this way: but it is not unuſual for theſe people to derive ſuch Traditions from *Moſes*, which are of much later date.

That the Ceremonial Worſhip of God by Sacrifices, and like rites, was of old, amongſt the Jewes, confined to the Temple, is generally plain from Scripture: that the publick Moral Worſhip of him, by Prayers and hearing of the Law, was performed in their Synagogues, at leaſt by ſuch, who could not come up to the Temple, may not be doubted. But, if there had been any ſuch conſtant publick reading of the Law from *Moſes*'s dayes, or under the firſt Temple, we ſhould certainly have heard more of theſe Synagogues, than we do in the Old Teſtament. The judicious and deeply read Mr. *Thorndike* produces *R. Menahem*, proving after the Cabbaliſtical way from *Iſa.* I, 21. that there were, even before *Iſaiah*'s time, *CDLXXX* Synagogues in *Jeruſalem*: but though he allow this may paſs for an *Hiſtorical truth under the ſecond Temple*, yet he rejects the aſſertion of it under the firſt, *as one*

Relig. Aſſ. m. Ch. 2.

of the crotchets, with which those mens brains are alwaies teeming; and concludes that "if there be any expreſs remembrance of Synagogues under *Solomon*'s "Temple, in the Scripture, he ſuppoſes it to be, *Pſ. LXXIV*, 4. 8.— "But that remembrance ſo obſcure, "that it cannot be thought they could "afford the body of that people means "to aſſemble for the Service of God. And truly the ambiguity of the Original Text, and the diverſe rendrings it has received are ſo great, that it may be reaſonably queſtioned, whether it be to be underſtood of Synagogues at all: ſo that I have good grounds to ſtick to my firſt aſſertion, of the very ſeldome reading the Law of *Moſes*, in any publick Aſſemblies, till the time of *Ezra*.

And from that time, as already ſaid, the *reading* of the Law became frequent and of ſolemn courſe; and ſo may be preſumed to have continued till the *abomination of deſolation* ſet up by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who not onely *profaned the Temple and the Altar*, and *forbid* them to *circumciſe their children*, and many ſuch things, but alſo interdicted the

1 Ma. c. 1. b. 1. &c.

the *reading of the Law of* Moſes under pain of death. On this occaſion, leaſt according to *Antiochus* his deſign, they *ſhould forget the Law, and all their Ordinances be changed*, this expedient was deviſed: in ſtead of the Section of the Law, or *Paraſha* to be read of courſe (for they had divided the *Pentateuch* into 54 Sections, ſo that taking one each Sabbath, and putting two of the ſhorteſt together on two ſabbaths, they diſpatched the reading of the whole in a year) in ſtead, I ſay, of a Section of the Law, they read a ſection out of the Prophets called הפטרה as near as they could of the ſame ſubject with that, which ought to have been read out of the Law: a kind of Concordance of which ſections of the Law and Prophets, we have generally printed in the end of the *Hebrew* Teſtament, לוח ההפטרות וגו׳

Vide Weems Chriſt. Synag. 1. c. 4. Anſw. in Gen. VI.

When this perſecution was over, they returned again to the reading the Law of *Moſes*; yet ſo, as they left not off the reading of thoſe parallel Sections out of the Prophets: ſo that theſe later may ſeem thus to have become a kind

of interpretation of the former, the *prophets* of the *Law*. And this is the ſumme of all the *preaching* yet to be found in the Jewiſh Church, namely the *reading* the *Law* of *Moſes* in courſe, with ſome Analogous part of the *prophets*, which might ſeem an explication of it.

But it is ſure, before our Lords coming into the World, much more had obtained: for though we find the *Law* and the *Prophets* were read in their Synagogues, every Sabbath day, yet by the *peoples* expecting, and the *Rulers of the Synagogues* deſiring from our Lord and his Apoſtles, after ſuch reading or Leſſons, ſome explication or word of *exhortation* to the people, it is plain, their Doctours had accuſtomed them to ſome ſuch thing. The teaching in uſe amongſt their Doctours, when ſat in the Synagogues, is thus deſcribed by *Philo*. Ὁ μὲν τὰς εἱλκυσε ἀναγινώσκει, ἕτερος δὲ τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων, ὅσα μὲν γνώριμα παρελθὼν, &c. *One reads the Holy Text; another of the moſt skilful amongſt them, paſſing through whatever is difficult, gives an expoſition thereof.* But the Rabbies are more

Act. XIII. 15. Luk. IV. 16.

In. lib. omn. prob. liberum eſſe.

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punctuall in the account they give us: It being generally concluded amongſt them, that one great deſign of the Sabbath and Feaſts was, that the people might thereon learn the Law, they tell us, the teaching thereof, which ought to be on the Sabbath and Feaſts, muſt extend to three particulars. The first קבלת דבריה the true *delivery of the words*, according to the received reading of them; a piece of no ſmall skill of old amongſt the *Jewes*. The ſecond פירושיה the *Expoſition* or explication of the *ſenſe* thereof. The third דקדוקיה An account of the *Critiſms* or ſubtleties thereof. Theſe two laſt undoubtedly imploied their greateſt *Doctours*, *Scribes* or *Wiſemen*, as they are called, *Matth XXIII*, 34. And the performance thereof, eſpecially of the ſecond, they called דרש an *inquiſition*, conſultation, debate, or ſearch touching the meaning of the Scripture. And the performer hereof בעל המדרש or דרשן in the Greek of St. *Paul* συζητητὴς, a *Diſputer*, one that debates or diſcuſſeth any point. And to this purpoſe, many of their Doctours uſed to ſit together

vid. R. Iſaac. Abarb. in Deu. V. 12.

1 Cor. 1. 20.

in the Temple, and in their Synagogues, and to ſpeak ſeverally to the ſame ſubject, for the finding out the true ſenſe of any part of the Law, or the due ſtating any difficulty. Thus we find them in our Saviours dayes, and him in the midſt of them, *Luke* II, 46. His parents *found him in the Temple, ſitting in the midſt of the Doctours, both hearing them and asking them queſtions.* Such expoſition of ſcripture, as we have ſeen it to have been called in the New Teſtament *propheſying*, ſo the learned *Grotius* proves to be the ſame with St. *Luke's* λόγος παρακλήσεως or word of *exhortation*, as we render it, *Act.* XIII, 15. but imports no more than word of *propheſie*, taking παράκλησις in the *Helleniſtical* ſenſe. And this I take to be the higheſt pitch whereto the *Jewiſh preaching* or teaching ever aroſe (the word of God in the mouth of the inſpired prophets onely excepted) namely, a curſory expoſition or debate, by ſeveral of their Doctours, one after the other, touching anything more difficult, which occurred in the portion of the Law or the Prophets, for that Sabbath read in the

Vid. Grot. in Act. IV. 36

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Synagogue. In alluſion whereto is that of the Apoſtle to the *Corinthians*, *Let the prophets ſpeak two or three, and let the others judge, &c.* 1 Cor. XIV. 26.

Now this kind of Diſcourſes being, as is evident by what has been ſaid, rather of men opineing, and aiming at the truth, than of thoſe who were aſſured that they had it by divine revelation, and beſides being miſerably ſervile & unſatisfactory to humane nature, as being employed generally on ſuch points as the waſhing of Hands, Cups, Diſhes, or the curing of meats according to tradition, and like Ceremonial *apices*; or, if any point apprehended to be of greater moment did offer it ſelf, leaving that in ſuſpenſe *till a prophet ſhould come*, as their uſual ſpeech and practice was, this kind, I ſay, gave very great advantage to our Lords and his Apoſtles preaching: For (even to the Diſciples may I apply, in a great meaſure, what is ſaid of the *Maſter*) *They taught as* perſons *having authority, and not as the Scribes.* Our Lord himſelf was ſo far from determining any difficulties of the Law, that he profeſſed-

Sect. 8.

1 Mic. VI. 46. & XIV. 41

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ly took upon him to teach, wherein the Law came ſhort of that more excellent Doctrine, which he came to publiſh. He brought to light a new and living way, avowing himſelf to be immediately ſent from God to that purpoſe, which the Jewiſh Doctours could not ſo much as pretend: and both by the concordance of his life, condition and doctrine with what the Prophets had taught, and by ſuch miracles as had not been before heard of, he proved what he ſaid, that he was not onely a *prophet* and inſpired, but *The prophet which was to come*, of whom both *Moſes and all the prophets* had ſpoken. His ſtile or way of ſpeech was free, but moſt prægnant and powerful, his matter ſublime, divine, and which by intrinſeck evidence approved it ſelf to be from Heaven, not traſhing humane life with ſlaviſh bodily obſervances, but advancing it to the greateſt perfection of Virtue and inward Peace: his manner of delivery with all aſſurance and Partheſie, never at any loſs, hallucination, or ſurpriſal. When conſulted on a ſudden, he was the ſame (as much re-

reſolved in his own mind, and as profoundly ſatisfactory to all his Hearers in the anſwers he gave) as if he had Forethought. In a word, whatever there was of rectitude or worth, either in the ordinary or extraordinary way of the Jewiſh preaching, we find, but moſt infinitely tranſcendent, in his. He ſeems to have ſtoopt ſo low, in the entrance on his prophetical diſcharge, as to have become ſome while a Reader. *As his cuſtome was, he went into the ſynagogue on the Sabbath-day, and ſtood up to read. And there was delivered to him the Book of the prophet* Eſaias: and we find he *opened it, and read.* Having finiſhed his reading, he *ſat down*, and, as we have ſeen the cuſtome to have been amongſt the Jewiſh Doctours, he *interpreted* that Scripture to them, but not as they; for he ſhewed it to be verified in himſelf: *This day is this ſcripture fulfilled in your ears.* And ſuch was the evidence he gave hereof, that *All who heard him bare witneſs, and wondred at the gracious words, that proceeded out of his mouth.* As to the other kind of *Ordinary* preaching, iu uſe a- Luk: IV. 16, 17. &c.

mongſt the Jews, by reſolving difficulties that aroſe, and informing mens conſciences, Thoſe who tried him with the hardeſt Queſtions which their Doctours malice could pick out to confound him, went away confounded themſelves; and thoſe, who out of ſincere purpoſes conſulted him touching any point, wherein they wanted counſel, found more ſatisfaction than they ever expected, and were ſurpriſed into a new and Heavenly life. The *extraordinary* preaching amongſt the Jews, was that of the *prophets*, by virtue of immediate inſpiration; now whereas in all the prophets unto him, there was a certain ſtint of the ſpirit of Propheſie, ſome particulars revealed, and infinitely more reſerved (the *ſpirit breathing* in them *when and how long it liſted*) to Him *God gave not the ſpirit by meaſure*, John *III*, 34. He therefore did moſt infallibly and uncontroleably interpret ſcripture, publiſh further the will of God, foretell future events, diſpute, determine, counſel, comfort, exhort, warn, *reprove*, *rebuke with all authority*. In fine, in his preaching did all kinds and parts

parts of this Office, in the moſt accompliſht ſort, concur.

Nor was the Apoſtles preaching much unlike to their Lords, by reaſon of their ample participation of the ſame ſpirit: onely ſome Footſteps of their different natural tempers, education, and former condition of life, might perhaps be reſpectively diſcerned in their preaching, if we may judge (as to me ſeems juſt) of their way of ſpeech, by their manner of writing. Thus much will any man of moderate inſight into the different Characters of ſpeech eaſily conclude, who ſhall take the paines to compare the Epiſtles of St. *John*, and St. *James*, and St. *Peter*, amongſt themſelves, and all of them with thoſe of St. *Paul*. All their Sermons that we have extant, are compriſed in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles: Thoſe generally agree with the account I have already given of them; namely, that they were diſcourſes fram'd, as occaſion offered, for the publication or aſſertion of Chriſtianity. To this purpoſe the main point they avow, is the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt from the dead, by which they prove him to

have been the *Messias*, and his Doctrine from Heaven, and to require therefore the belief and obedience of Mankind. In this regard they had something in their subject different from that our Lord had: He onely foretold his resurrection, and gave it as a sign and proof that he was sent of God; they attest it as really come to pass, and publish this their testimony to the world. Besides, our Lord not going but to the *lost sheep of the House of Israel*, who already believed the true God, and the Oracles he had committed to them, kept himself, as I may so speak, in a narrower compass of Topicks, arguing chiefly either from *Moses* and the Prophets Writings, or from his own Works, which he wrought in witness that his Father sent him: Whereas, the Apostles being sent *into all the World*, to *preach the Gospel to every creature*, and being to convert men from idolatry, and perhaps Atheism too, as well as from Judaism, took a larger scope as they saw occasion. Thus St *Paul*, when he has to do with the Jewes, urges onely *Moses* and the *Prophets*

Act. XIII. & XXVI. 22.

phets, and that he *taught nothing but what they ſaid ſhould come to paſs*: yet when he is to preach at *Athens*, a place of Heathen literature, we hear nothing of *Moſes* or prophets, though he had ſtill, for the main, the ſame ſubject, *Jeſus and the Reſurrection*: but in order to the taking thoſe people off from their idolatry, and bringing them to the Faith, he takes arguments out of Philoſophy, and Philology too, as beſt ſuiting his Auditours Circumſtances. So that, as beforeſaid, we may reaſonably affirm, the very ſelf ſame Apoſtles way of preaching differed much from his own at another time. We cannot ſee, but they took all occaſions for all kind of teaching or preaching: Thus *Philip* preaches to the *Ethiopian Eunuch*, who was reading *Iſaiah*, out of *Iſaiah*, Act. VIII. 35. *He opened his mouth, and began at that ſame ſcripture, and preached to him Jeſus* thence, interpreting no doubt that place of Jeſus, and ſhewing how it was verified in him. And it is very probable, St. *Paul's* Sermon to the Jewes in the Synagogue, *after the reading the law and the prophets* (Acts XIII. Acts XVII. 18.

XIII. 16.) had the like foundation in the portions of the *law and the prophets* at that ſeaſon read. At other times we ſhall find them not making ſet diſcourſes, but *diſputing* and arguing. *Act.* IX. 29, and XVII. 17, and XIX. 9. Again at another time, not ſo much teaching or proving any thing new, but upon what was already known and believed, exhorting and ſtirring up to particular duties (*Chap.* XX. 28, *&c.*) and as occaſion required, intermixing propheſies, and foretelling future events, *Ver.* 29. In a word, as the Apoſtolical Office was univerſal and extraordinary, ſo there is no ordinary kind of Miniſtring the word, belonging either to Paſtour or Teacher, which we may not obſerve, or conceive, the Apoſtles to have practiſed, as occaſion ſerved; though ſtill with the addition of what was extraordinary, and at preſent unpracticable, as aforeſaid.

Sect. 9. Of what kind or frame their firſt Sermons in the Chriſtian Church were, immediately after the ceſſation of thoſe miraculous gifts ſpoken of, I know not whether any certain and diſtinct account

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can be given: It would ſeem they were onely brief Exhortations, made by the Biſhops or Preſidents above mentioned, immediately after the reading of the ſcriptures. Thus in that account given of the Chriſtian Aſſemblies on the Lords Day by *Juſtin Martyr*. "On the Lords "Day called *Sunday*, ſaith he, all of us "that live in the City or Villages about "it, meet together in one place, and "the Records of the Apoſtles, or the "writings of the Prophets, are read, "as the time will ſuffer. Then the "Reader ceaſing, the *Preſident* or Bi="ſhop (διὰ λόγε τεθεσπαι ὁ προήκλησις τῆς τῶν καλῶν τέτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται·) "in a ſpeeeh "makes an inſtruction and exhortation "to the imitating ſuch good Works as "are ſuppoſed to be read of. (ſo I render it, not ſeeing what the words τῶν καλῶν τέτων can refer to, but ſomewhat in the Leſſons). And in that ancient, however Pſeudonymous work, intituled, the *Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles* (Ἐξῆς παρακαλείτωσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λαὸν &c.) the Sermon, which is ordered to ſucceed immediately the reading of the Goſpel, is called an *Exhortation to the*

Apolog: 2. verſus finem.

Lib. 2. cap. 57.

Lib: de Anim. c. 9

the people. This in *Tertullian*'s Latin is called an *Allocution*, or speaking to the people [*Prout scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi canuntur, aut Allocutiones proferuntur, aut Petitiones delegantur.*] Truly all these names, which are produced out of Authours coming as neer those extraordinary dayes, as most we have, seem to intimate, the Sermons were then onely some brief Hortatory or Monitory speeches to the people, to which the speaker took the meetest occasion or subject that the portion of scripture read, in his judgment, afforded to him: And if so, this practice evidently came from the synagogue, whose way, if our Lord and his Apostles thought good to improve, the following age might well insist in thus improved.

We shall be confirmed the more in these thoughts, if we estimate the Sermons of that age, by those which we have of the Eldest Fathers. The first extant (as far as I can find) are those of *Origen*'s, called in the Latin Version commonly *Homilies*, some of them *Tractates*. An *Homily*, saith *Ferrarius*, is "a very familiar speech, and as accommodate

Ferrar. Concil. tom. 1. c. 5.

"modate as may be to the ſenſe and "underſtanding of the Common-peo-"ple. *Tractates*, we know, is a name, which the ancient Latin Fathers properly enough gave their Sermons; with whom *Tractare* is to preach, in the new ſenſe of preaching, that is, as it ſignifies to handle Scripture by way of Expoſition and Application (It were frivolous to alledge inſtances to this purpoſe, as were eaſie out of *Optatus*, St. *Auſtin*, & others.) And *Tractatores* ſuch *Preachers*. [*Doctores, qui nunc Tractatores appellantur*] "Whom the Apoſtle calls Tea-"chers, we now call Tractators, ſaith *Vincentius Lirinenſis*. Now *Origen*, who certainly flouriſhed early in the Third Century, takes ſeveral of the Books of the Old Teſtament in order, making a roveing Expoſition on a paſſage here and there: ſo that on all *Geneſis* he has *XVII* Sermons, on *Exodus XIII*, on *Leviticus XVI*, and to omit others on the Book of *Kings* 15 and ſcarce any of theſe half an hour long. That he took his ſubject generally out of what Leſſons had been read immediately before, is evident from infinite paſſages in his Ho-

Adv. Hær. cap. 4.

milies; I will mention one or two which first come to hand. "I can not, saith he, "set forth at present the dif-"ference of all these (namely *statutes, judgments*, &c.) *Exigimur enim ad ex-planationem horum quæ lecta sunt*, "be-"ing required to explain those things "which have been now read. And that we may know the same person was not Reader and Preacher, or that it was not he himself who had read, we find him expounding on one Translation, whereas the Reader read another. *Lector quidem præsentis lectionis ita lege-bat, & timuit populus Dominum, &c.* "The Reader of the present Lesson "read thus, *And the people feared the* "*Lord all the dayes of* Joshua: but we have it, "*And the people served the* "*Lord.* Which passages I confess, together with the nature of his Expositions, being considered, confirm in me the belief of what *Eusebius* reports of *Origen*'s Sermons; "*Origen*, saith he, "being now past the sixtieth year of "his age, and having by long use and "study, attained an habit and perfect "maturity in Teaching, permitted, "what

Homil. X: in Exod.

Homil: 1: in lib: Judic:

Eccl. Hist. l. 6 c. 29 alias 26.

"what he never did before, that both "his Diſputations and the Sermons "which he made in publick, ſhould "be taken by perſons who wrote faſt. It would ſeem then, his Sermons were chiefly extemporaneous Expoſitions, and many of them perhaps not ſo much as reviſed by himſelf, being taken, and poſſibly publiſht, by other hands; and many of them undoubtedly never taken, but dying with the breath that uttered them.

To view a little the Sermons or Homilies of others of the Fathers; they muſt be acknowledged very diverſe and unlike one another. Sometimes they have a Text, ſometimes they have none, but pitch on any one or more ſubjects (what, and of as different natures as they pleaſe) and make thereon a ſhort curſory ſpeech to the people. Thus *S. Chryſoſtome* has one Sermon *Againſt Drunkards*, and *Concerning the Reſurrection*, between which two ſubjects, though a man by wit may frame a connexion, yet is there no natural relation or affinity of the one to the other: And notwithſtanding he has two

ſuch copious ſubjects, his Sermon ſeems but very little above a quarter of an hour long.

There are an 100. of St. *Auſtin*'s Sermons, ſuppoſing moſt of thoſe his which are found in the tenth Tome of his works (not that I am ſo credulous, as to think all therein contained to be St. *Auguſtine*'s, but I ſee not how it can be diſproved, but that the greateſt part of them are his, and whether they are, or are not, it is ſure they were Sermons preached neer about that Century, and ſo ſhew us the uſe of the Age) there are, I ſay, an hundred Sermons there extant, which I dare be bound to pronounce diſtinctly, and deliver decently, in the ſpace of eight minutes, and ſome in almoſt half the time: A multitude of S. *Bernard*s are not much longer. Nor will I doubt further to ſay, of many as well of St. *Chryſoſtome*'s Homilies, as of much a greater number of thoſe intituled to St. *Auguſtin*, what I have already proved touching *Origen*s, that they were made and delivered in the ſame time and place: in plain terms, they were extemporaneous diſcourſes, or ſuch

ſuch at the utmoſt, which very little thought furniſht; and there needs no other proof hereof, than the meer peruſal of ſuch of them. *Res ipſa loquitur.* Yet if any deſire further proof, that not onely theſe three named, but alſo diverſe others of the Fathers, uſed thus to preach, either *ex tempore*, or as ſaid upon very little thought, there are Authorities enough produced by *Ferrarius* to this purpoſe, both out of Church-Hiſtorians of undoubted credit in this matter, and out of the very preaching Fathers themſelves; to which Authorities it were eaſie to add. One of them is ſo prægnant, that I think I may not well wave it. It is of St. *Gregory* the Great, who having profeſt he undertook not the Expoſition of *Ezekiel* out of *raſhneſs but humility*, adds ſomewhat a ſtrange reaſon of that his extemporary commenting; *Scio, quia plerumque multa in ſacro eloquio ſunt, quæ ſolus intelligere non potui, coram fratribus poſitus intellexi.* "I have found, ſaith he, "that there are many things "in the Holy Scripture, which being "alone by my ſelf I could not under-

De rit: Concion: l: 2: c: 8:

Homi: 14: in Ezek:

"ſtand, but being placed in publick "before my Brethren, *I* have under- "ſtood them. By which underſtand- "ing I endeavoured to gain this alſo, to "know for whoſe ſake [*quorum meri-* "*to*] ſuch underſtanding was given to "me. For it is evident, it was given "me for them, in whoſe preſence it was "given me. By which meanes through "Gods grace, it comes to paſſe, that my "underſtanding increaſes, and my ſelf- "Opinion decreaſes, while for your "ſakes I learn amongſt you, what a- "mongſt you I teach; *quia verum fa- teor, plerumque vobiſcum audio quod dico*; "For to confeſſe the truth, for the moſt "part *I* firſt hear with you what *I* ſay "my ſelf. An ingenous acknowledg- ment! and by which it appeares this way of preaching, as *I* may ſo call it, was not accidental or on ſome extraordinary occaſion, but uſuall to this great man, and out of choice.

That in theſe ſudden diſcourſes they did not alwayes take a whole ſacred booke before them, but occaſionally took their Argument (or ſubject) out of what hapened to be read on the day,

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is clear from almoſt infinite paſſages of thoſe ſermons in St. *Auſtins* laſt Tome. I will take any inſtance that firſt offers it ſelf, *Apoſtoli lectionem mecum pariter audiſtis, fratres dilectiſſimi*, &c. "you "have heard, moſt beloved Brethren, "together with me the Apoſtle read "unto you: and ſo he goes on curſorily treating of what had been read. Any may ſee more in the Book who pleaſes. De tem: Serm: 190.

I am far from pretending this was the onely way af ſermoniſing amongſt the antient Fathers: nor can I but acknowledge multitudes, even of St. *Chryſoſtome*'s and St. *Auſtin*'s Sermons, to have been ſtudied and elaborate. The ſame muſt be ſaid of St. *Baſil*'s, the two *Gregories*, *Nazianzen*'s and *Nyſſen*'s, of whoſe *I* read nothing which ſmells not of the Lamp: the ſame too, I conceive, of all St. *Ambroſe*'s genuine Diſcourſes, and I believe of many others, which my leiſure or opportunity has not given me acquaintance with. But in the mean time, while I allow diverſe of the Fathers, and eſpecially the *Greek* ones, accurately to have penned many of their Sermons, I cannot ſay they did ſo al-

wayes:

wayes: for it must needs be presumed, they preached much oftner, than appears by these Sermons of theirs extant; and had all been so accurately penn'd, we cannot imagin, but we should have had more of them come to our hands: nor can *I* allow all their neat Orations (no not all of *Nazianzen* himself, notwithstanding he is stiled *the Divine*) to have been properly Sermons. *I* must needs conceive their general way of preaching to have been more free and popular; and for this, as well as many other excellencies, *I* admire St. *Chrysostome*, whose way *I* judge, with the worthy *Caussinus*, to have been the compleatest *Idea* of preaching to be found amongst any of the Fathers *I* have seen.

De Eloq: lib: 16:

In summe, the Sermons of the Fathers, as far as *I* can comprehend them under certain heads, were either, as already said (1) some Expositions (too often Allegorical and roving) on Holy Scripture, sometimes taking a Book before them, and having dispatched that, proceeding through diverse others; sometimes singling some patt, or part,

out of what had been read, or was to be read, that day (*vid. Auguſtin. Sermon. de Temp.* 200.) Or (2) Some brief occaſional ſpeech ſuitable to the ſeaſon or Feſtival; Or (3) In the praiſe of ſome Martyr, Saint, or deceaſed Biſhop; Or (4) In commendation of, and exhortation to ſome Virtue; Or (5) Againſt ſome Vice, or Heretick, or like ſubject for invectives and reprehenſion; Or Laſtly, Some Diſcourſes like Eſſaies on ſome Moral Aphoriſm; as that of St. *Chryſoſtome*'s on this ſubject, *Neminem lædi niſi à ſe-ipſo*, "That no one is hurt by any but "himſelf; and his, and others on ſuch like: But in many of theſe, uſually (*Abſit dicto invidia*) that clearneſs and maturity of notions, that regularity of Method may be deſired, which is to be found in our Modern Writers on like ſubjects. Though thoſe might be excellent Sermons then, they would not be ſuch amongſt us at preſent: nor indeed can any think it ſhould be otherwiſe, at ſuch diſtance of time, and after ſo great changes of the manners, temper and condition of the Church.

Sect. 10

In process of time, but in what age first, I dare not take upon me certainly to resolve, it came to pass, that the chief preaching in use, was onely some explication or descanting upon the Gospel for the day. The Original of the yearly course of the Gospels the *Roman* Tradition affixeth to St. *Hierom*: He fram'd, they say, what they call the *Lectionary*. Whether that be so or not, it is sure the Order of reading certain portions out of the four Gospels at the Eucharist was very antient, as appears both by the forementioned Constitutions (*Lib.* 2. *cap.* 57.) and by the antientest Liturgies both of the Eastern and Western Churches (however *Beza* denies the use to have obtained in the East or even in *Africk*, but without reason that I can see). It is apparent also by St. *Augustin*'s Preface to his Tractates (that is, his Sermons) on the 1 Epistle of St. *John*, that in his time, upon all Festivals, there were [*certæ ex Evangelio Lectiones, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint.*] "Certain Lessons out of the Gospel, which came "in yearly course, and were not alterable.

Platin. in vita Sixti I. & Bernoo Abb. c. 1.

De Cœn. Dom. contr. Westphal.

ble. Now it would ſeem by the Sermons of the Fathers of that age, that even then it was very uſual to handle ſome part of the Goſpel read, in their Sermons. The name indeed by which we call ſuch Expoſitions, *viz. Poſtills*, by its barbarity ſhews it ſelf to be much of later date: whether we derive it from the ordinary initial form of the Goſpels *Poſt illa tempora*, or from *Poſt illa verba*, becauſe the comment followed the Text, or from the *French* Appoſtile, it will be concluded new enough; but the thing it ſelf muſt be allowed antient, and not taken up through the lazineſs of the Biſhops, as gentle *Beza* ſaith, but in imitation of the Prophets in the primitive Church, and even of the Jewiſh Doctours, expounding (as we have ſeen) the difficulties of the portion of ſcripture read in courſe, or on occaſion. And this uſe being once got in, became ſo general, that it was for many ages in a manner all the preaching they had, except in time of Lent. True indeed, as the Maſs and the corruptions thereof came to prevail, even this, as well as all other preaching,

Speiman & Martin. Dr. Skinner.

ubi modo

begun to grow very rare in the *Roman* Church, till such time as the dawning of the Reformation awakened them; but if they had any, it was, I say, generally this: and which was the mischief, notwithstanding the long continuance of this way, it was as little improved, as can be imagin'd. Amongst those multitudes of Volumes of this kind, I can scarce say I ever saw three worth the reading.

Sect. 11 At present this course is much broken off, as well in the Protestant, as I believe in the *Roman* Churches. In the Church of *Geneva*, having laid aside almost all footsteps of the antient Form & Manner of Liturgies, (& therefore Gospels) this way of Postilling ceased therewith: and it is not rare to find both *Calvin* and *Beza* inveighing against it. Their way generally was to read or expound upon such Book of the Holy Scripture, as they chose to themselves, taking the whole Book orderly before them: and it must be acknowledged to have been very useful, and much to have furthered Christian knowledge. Amongst the Papists, *Baronius* tells us, about

about thirty years before his time, Father *Philip Nerius*, the *Florentine*, Founder of the Oratorian Congregation, and his Diſciple *Franciſcus Maria Tarufius* brought up the enſuing courſe, *Divino planè conſilio*, as he is pleaſed to ſay. Ad an. 57. n. 164.

"Such perſons who gave themſelves more than others to devotion, "meeting daily in the Church in the "Afternoons, a Brother of the Oratorians begun with a Prayer, and "then applied himſelf to reading ſuch "a part of ſcripture, as was meet to "ſtir up the Hearers minds to piety. "All along the reading, the Fathers "who was preſident uſed to interpoſe, "and explain, amplifie and apply what "he thought fit of the things read; "and ſometimes to ask any of the Brethrens judgment touching what was "read or ſaid: and thus the exerciſe "continued, almoſt Dialogue-wiſe, for "about an hour. Then at the preſidents "comn and, one of the Brethren went up "into the Pulpit, and made a ſpeech "out of the received lives of the Saints, "and holy ſcriptures, and the writings "of the Fathers, in a free and natural

"way, without Rhetorical colours or "flouriſh. After him came up a ſecond, "and then a third, but each on a diffe- "rent ſubject, and the laſt commonly "treated of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, re- "lating things in the Order of time as "they were done. Each continued his "Diſcourſe half an hour, with great "profit and delight of the Hearers; "and then ſinging a Pſalm, or Hymn, "they went to prayers again and con- "cluded the Aſſembly. This practice he conceives moſt neerly to reſemble thoſe Apoſtolical Aſſemblies ſpoken of in the *XIV.* of the firſt to the *Corinthi- ans.* The way has taken much, they ſay, in the *Roman* Church: and truly thoſe amongſt us, who ſeparate from the Church of *England*, ſeem very neerly to have imitated it (except in the particular of Church-Hiſtory, which was too painful for them, & of- ten above their Learning) but that their prayers and diſcourſes generally are of greater length. Notwithſtanding it is very ſure, that both in the *Roman* and *Lutheran* Churches, the way of Poſtil- ling ſtill continues frequent; and as it might

might be ordered, it would be of great uſe and advantage.

As to the preſent uſual preaching by Doctrine and Uſe, the firſt that ever I find to have brought it up, was Dr. *Ames*, generally, I believe, a pious and good man; but given to more and much worſe Novelties than that, & as far as I can ſee, amongſt us a great Father of Independency. How much this way has taken and been improved ſince our late Civil Wars (at the beginning of which it was ſcarce twenty years old) as being a method in which even illiterate men could practice, *I* need not here ſpeak. Thus much muſt be allowed, *by running to and fro, knowledge has been encreaſed.* Thoſe, who had nothing but noiſe and zeal to draw the people after them, gave occaſion to the greater induſtry of ſuch, who provided them more ſubſtantial, and yet more delicate food: And thus both notions and language being refined, and Chriſtian Doctrine in many points cleared, and withall the cleareſt, moſt taking and prudent Methods contrived and uſed, I am apt to think, that what we call Dan XII. 4.

prea-

preaching has attained, in the better part of the conformable English Clergy, such an height, beyond which it will not easily be improved, and to which, since the cessation of miraculous gifts, it never arrived elsewhere.

Sect. 12 These things *I* have thus freely spoken, not out of any slighty opinion of the Antients; they were certainly admirable in their age, and it is at a vast disadvantage that their Writings now come to us: yet, notwithstanding all disadvantages, are those very Writings a glorious light to us, and such without which we should be to seek, not onely in the Antient Rites, Customes, Laws & Discipline of the Church, but in many points as to the true Antient Catholick Faith; & unable to defend the genuin Christianity against the pretences and innovations, as well of *Lesser* Hereticks and Schismaticks, as especially of those *Grand* corrupters of Christianity, our *Roman* adversaries. And in whatsoever those ages may be conceived to be outdone by us, by reason of any advantages we have above them, it is sure in the main they outdid us: There

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was more ſanctimony, true zeal, and ſingleneſs of heart to be found in one of them, than in an hundred of us; they *Lived* more Sermons than we *Preach*, and theſe were the greater excellencies. People might go to Heaven without ſcholaſtical notions, and Rhetorical or polite diſcourſes, but they cannot without ſincerity, reſolution and holineſs. Let therefore none think I have forgotten the fifth Commandment, or go about in the leaſt to detract from the reverence due to Antiquity: by ſpeaking freely of their way, I at once both acknowledge and vindicate their true worth. My deſign in any thing, which may ſeem to reflect upon them, is onely to ſhew how variable a thing that which we call preaching is, and ever has been, ſince the proper and Apoſtolical preaching ceaſed; and ſo to bring people to a ſober underſtanding that they may not, to the juſtling out of other parts of the publick Worſhip, over-value Sermons, as admitting of more variation than any other office thereof: nor yet on the other ſide undervalue them at preſent, this office

in all ages of the Church having continued, and being of divine institution; and the exercise of it in our Church being advanced to so elevate a degree of eminence, as must be acknowledged.

Sect. 13 Before I conclude this Head of the different Modes there have been of Preaching, there are one or two things which I think fit to add by way of *Corollary*. And first, that it is a little iniquitous to expect, that the whole essential frame and structure of our Sermons should be altered to such a degree of accuracy from what Sermons used to be, and what they still are otherwhere, not without vast pains and industry on our sides, and yet generally to require such inconsiderable circumstances, which are to the auditours (except they will be humoursome) indifferent, but would be to us of great ease, should still remain the same. As to what of Doctrinals we deliver, we must, all points controverted on both hands being weighed, state maturely, prove demonstratively, refute convictively; and in the Applicatory part we must perswade passionately, and as far as we can o-

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mit nothing which may move the deepeſt concernment: and two ſuch Diſcourſes at leaſt, each of an hour long, we muſt bring forth every Week, which we are content to do; But after we have framed them with our utmoſt care, and perhaps know not how to alter or omit a ſentence for advantage, if we do not like *School*-boyes ſay all by heart, we are cenſured as lazy; and this becauſe the Antients perhaps, and moſt Forreigners (who generally take not that pains in ten Sermons, which many of us do in one) uſe ſo to do. Now I am bold with ſubmiſſion to ſay, this circumſtance of reading or not reading, is indifferent to the Auditory: for ſuppoſe a man pronounce well, and as he ought, what matters it to thoſe that hear him, whether his Book be open or ſhut, in his hand or in his pocket? We are commanded to read the prayers, and they are not ſuppoſed therefore to affect leſs; where then is the diſadvantage in decent reading our Sermons? But though this matter ſignifie nothing at all to any ſober Hearer, yet, I ſay, it ſignifies much to the

preacher: it frees him from terrour, confusion, and perpetual anxiety, while he is speaking; besides, that it saves him before a great deal of precious time, which might be otherwise well spent, and which, it may be, he can ill afford from his other spiritual cares. To speak ingenuously, and as the case stands: Account has been given what the old Preaching was; Give us that their *Old* liberty, or give us the *New* liberty which some men take, we'l never read, nay possibly, many of us need not study. What man so barren, who could not run a loose descant upon the Gospel in the Morning for a quarter or half an hour; and do as much by the Epistle, it may be, in the Afternoon? Or, who could not out of such Text as he pleaseth to choose, deduce empty Doctrines, and give them needless proofs; and then while out as empty an Application? But if in stead of a quarter of an hours roveing discourse, or such longer trifling, as insinuated, there be expected from us a solid Divinity-lecture of an Hour long, and not onely the *Teachers* or

or Catechiſts, but the *paſtors* and applicatory part too (in a manner a juſt Treatiſe) and theſe ſo often, truly thoſe, who read ſuch Sermons, may be pardoned if they do thereby offend, ſeeing the offence is onely by too much care not to offend. In a word, if we may not read, we muſt be more bold with our Hearers, and leſs accurate in our proviſions: we muſt put in practice his rule,

(*Rem bene præviſam verba haud invita ſequuntur*)

ſtudy well our matter, and neglect ſtyle, contenting our ſelves with ſuch expreſſion as naturally offers it ſelf; and then, when we do not write much, we cannot read; which for ought I know, as the world goes, may be the better way.

What I have ſaid by way of extolling many of our *Engliſh* Sermons, I would not have ſo underſtood, as if I valued them at that rate that ſome ſeem to do, who have the vanity and weakneſs, not to ſay worſe, to thruſt out in a manner all publick reading of the ſcriptures, and ſpend the whole time, Sect. 14

design'd for that, in what they call *preaching the Word:* nay, so highly do they magnifie their labours in that kind, that they call their very *Sermons*, the *Word of God* in their ordinary language. I do admire indeed, as *I* have said, a multitude of our *English* Sermons; but *I* would never equal the best of them, to that which seems the meanest part of Holy scripture, nor allow them the name due onely to the divine Oracles. It is evident by what has been said, we cannot pretend to such preaching, as was that of the Apostles: we must not therefore give our Sermons those names, which theirs both had and deserved; which is the other point I would add by way of Corollary. Let us but have so much sobriety and reason as not to contradict our selves, but be consistent with our own principles: We deny infallibility to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, and for most just reasons; And shall we each in terms assume it to our private selves, when we deny it to a Church? We do assume it, if we call our Preaching *Gospel*, or our Sermons the *Word*

of

of God: they are at beſt but comments or Tractates upon it. The Fathers, and the Primitive Church have ever contented themſelves with the more modeſt appellations of *Homilies* and Sermons, and them not God's, but theirs who made them. It may be generally obſerved, thoſe men, who moſt confidently thus arrogate to their preaching, have as little reaſons for this high ſtyle thereof, as any men: but whether we have or we have not, it certainly becomes us to imitate the Fathers, at leaſt in their humility, and to ſpeak as the Catholick Church ever has done. And thus of the different modes of preaching, and their occaſions.

CHAP. III.

Sect. 1. *Of the fourth Head. The unreaſonableneſs of ſome mens preſent alledging* St. Paul's *plea of* Neceſſity of Preaching *for theirs*. Sect. 2. *A* Two-fold call *neceſſary to authoriſe a preſent Preacher, and firſt, of the* inward Call. Sect. 3. *Of the* Outward *call, and its neceſſity.* Sect. 4. *Who may confer it.* Sect. 5. *Of Neceſſita-*

ted

ted want of Episcopal Ordination. Sect. 6. *None amongst us can now pretend a call to the* Ministry, *much less a necessity of preaching, who have not received Episcopal Ordination.* Sect. 7. *The pretence of meer conscience frivolous, and fits all Hereticks and Sectaries.* Sect. 8. *Of imaginary cases extraordinary.* Sect. 9. *Of the felicity of the Church of* England *in regard of regular Ordinations above other Reformed Churches.* Sect. 20. *What necessity of preaching lies on Preachers lawfully constituted. Two points premised.* Sect. 11. *First, Divine precept obliges us.* Sect. 12. *Secondly, necessary compliance with the temper and expectation of the people.* Sect. 13. *The summe of all said for necessity of constantly frequent Preaching, and a transition to what remains.*

Sect. 1. WE will now proceed to the fourth Head of Enquiry, namely, What *Necessity* any men in *Truth* and *Reason* may plead lies upon them to *preach*, as at present we understand Preaching.

Now

Now for the due ſtating hereof, we can no whence better (as far as I ſee) take our meaſures, than from a due conſideration of the uſual plea, which ſome perſons, who ſeem to want warrant for their Preaching, bring for its neceſſity: and that is the Avow of St. *Paul*, *A neceſſity is laid upon me, Yea, Wo is unto me, if I preach not the Goſpel.* The Queſtion here will be, What neceſſity this was, which entailed ſuch a *Wo* on him upon default of his preaching, and wherein founded? 1 Cor. IX. 16.

For ſatisfaction to this matter, let us remember St. *Paul*'s Office, and his Call thereto. By his Office, he was an Apoſtle; and no ones Call could be more immediate or extraordinary than his was: He was converted to Chriſtianity, by the appearing of *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf from Heaven: His Call to the Apoſtleſhip was notified by revelation to *Ananias*, the perſon employed to complete his Chriſtianity, *Acts IX.* 15. *He is a choſen veſſel unto me, to bear my Name, before the Gentiles and Kings and the children of Iſrael.* In order to ſuch purpoſe, *ver.* 17., *He was filled*

with the Holy Ghoſt: And after all this, in a publick Aſſembly of the Church at *Antioch*, it was injoined by the Holy Ghoſt to the Prophets and Teachers in that Church, while *they miniſtred to the Lord and faſted, that they ſhould ſeparate* Paul *to the Work whereunto God had called him:* And they did accordingly; *They faſted and prayed, and laid their hands on him, and ſent him away.* After all this, there were many particular injunctions directed to him, by immediate revelation, to *Go and preach* ſometime in one place, ſometime in another. *Acts* XVI, 10, He is commanded by the *Holy Ghoſt* into *Macedonia*. *Acts XVIII*, 9, He being at *Corinth*, the Lord ſpake to him in a Viſion by night, commanding him, *Be not afraid, but ſpeak and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man ſhall ſet upon thee to hurt thee: for I have much people in this City.* Again *Acts* XX, 22, *He goes bound in the ſpirit to* Jeruſalem, *&c.* To be ſhort, we have thus a perſon miraculouſly called, authoriſed and injoined, and miraculouſly indowed too, to be a Publiſher and a Witneſs of Chriſtia-

Acts XIII. 2, 3.

ſtianity to the Jewes and Infidels; we have this perſon avowing, *A Neceſſity lies upon him, and wo be to him if* he approve not himſelf ſuch as thus called to be, *if he preach not the Goſpel, and bear not Chriſts Name before the Gentiles and Kings and children of* Iſrael. This is the true ſumme of the Original caſe.

Now this, *I* ſay, being the main paſſage of Holy Writ, which many of our pretended Goſpel-preachers bring to juſtifie their irregular and prohibited (not ſay, as too often it is, ſchiſmatical) Miniſtry, *A neceſſity*, ſay they, *is laid upon us, and wo be unto us if we preach not the Goſpel*, let us fairly conſider, what in juſtice and reaſon may be inferred hence, to conclude a neceſſity of preaching incumbent on any perſons, in the ſenſe wherein we now take the term.

And to proceed in this cauſe upon ſure principles, *I* need not fear contradiction if *I* ſay, the ground of the *Neceſſity* proteſted here by the Apoſtle, is the infallible Divine Call, and the immediate commands joined with immediate inſpiration, which he had for

preaching, that is, publiſhing the Faith of Chriſt Jeſus to the unbelieving World. So that applying this paſſage of an extraordinary caſe to our ordinary ſtate, as far as in parity of reaſon it will bear, we can onely ſay, Proportionable to the *evidence* of any mans *Call* to the Office of a Teacher or Paſtour, is the *neceſſity* which lies upon him to preach in the preſent ſenſe of preaching.

Sect. 2. Divines uſually teach, there is a *double Call* neceſſary to this ſacred Office, the one *inward*, the other *outward*. Wherein the *inward call*, which is firſt requiſite, doth conſiſt, has been and is ſome controverſie. There are many ſtill, and have been more, who would have the inward Call to be little or nothing but a ſtrong impulſe of ſpirit to take up the Office of a Teacher, a perſwaſion within a mans ſelf (ſuppoſed to be wrought by the ſpirit of God) that he is to miniſter in the Goſpel. This principle is perfectly Enthuſiaſtical: for either this perſwaſion has a reaſon and evidence, which may juſtifie it, or it has not. To ſay *I am perſwa-*

ſwaded that *I* ought thus to miniſter, becauſe *I* feel an aſſurance hereof wrought in me by this ſpirit of God, is to prove a thing by it ſelf; for this aſſurance is the perſwaſion: and how ſhall I prove it to come from the ſpirit of God, and not from a ſpirit of deluſion or ſelf-flattery? 'Twere as good to ſay *I* am perſwaded, becauſe *I* am perſwaded; Or, *I* am called to the Miniſtry, becauſe I preſume upon it with a great inward confidence. *If* it have a reaſon, that muſt be ſuch as will approve ſuch inward Call to others, as well as to our ſelves who have it (otherwiſe it is ſtill no reaſon) and that is to ſay in effect, what a ſoberer ſort ſay in expreſs terms, that the inward Call conſiſts chiefly in perſonal abilities or qualifications for the Miniſtry. Theſe they account chiefly two. (1) Knowledge of the Chriſtian Doctrine in a degree above the Commonalty of the Faithful, and (2) Dexterity, to impart or communicate this knowledge.

Now it muſt be confeſt, a perſwaſion that God deſigned a man for the Miniſtry of the Word, grounded upon a

ſober and modeſt ſenſe of ſuch inward qualifications as theſe mentioned, may plead fair for the name of an inward Call. For to deal ingenuouſly, an *inward Call* to the Miniſtry muſt not be accounted a canting or Fanatical term, as ſome are pleaſed to ſtyle it; no more muſt it be denied by us of the Church of *England*, that ſuch perſwaſion as juſt now deſcribed, goes into the conſtitution of ſuch Call: For in the *Office of Ordination*, it is demanded of the Candidate to *Deaconſhip*, Do you truſt that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghoſt to take upon you this Office, &c. To which the Candidate anſwers, I truſt ſo. And again, Do you think that you are truly called according to the will of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the due Order of this Church to the Miniſtry? To which the Anſwer is, I think ſo: Which laſt queſtion and Anſwer is again repeated in the Office for *Ordination of Prieſts*.

In ſumme, if to the particulars above mentioned of ſuch *perſwaſion*, grounded upon a due *ſenſe of the meet qua-*

qualifications, we add an hearty devoting and ſerious *inward giving up* a mans ſelf *to God* for the *ſervice* of his *Church* in this way, out of a *love* and *zeal* to the *ſouls* of men and *Gods glory*, I ſee not what can be challenged as wanting in the inward Call: We will ſay then, that whoſoever being indowed with deeper knowledge of Chriſtianity, and better gifts of utterance, than what the Commonalty of the Faithful have, does, with an heart really deſigning the Divine glory, & the eternal ſalvation of men, give himſelf wholely up to God for the ſervice of his Church in the Miniſtry, has a true inward Call thereto.

But in the mean time it cannot be ſaid, this inward Call ſufficiently *authoriſeth* ſuch perſon to ſet upon Preaching, as we now underſtand the term; much leſs that it laies, meerly of it ſelf, ſuch a *Neceſſity*, as was that *avowed* by St. *Paul*, to preach, no not in the ſenſe wherein we now underſtand preaching. For it is neceſſary, both that ſome one elſe (and him duly commiſſioned) judge of ſuch perſons abilities, (no Law ever allowing any man to be ſole judge S. 3.

Acts XIII, 2, 3, 4

judge in his own cauſe) and that being approved, he be ſolemnly *ſeparate* and *ſent* upon this Office, according to our Lords inſtitution, and the power left with his Church to this purpoſe, and ever exerciſed in the Church. To ſuch inward Call then it is needful there be added a due *outward Call.*

Eccleſiaſtes Oper. Zuing. Tom: 2

And ſome kind of outward Call, all, who have had any grain of ſobriety, have ever acknowledged neceſſary: Even *Zuinglius* himſelf (whatever is commonly imputed to him, that may ſeem contrary hereto) writ a Book aſſerting thus much, in which he maintains, againſt the *Catabaptiſts*, that none are to be admitted to teach publickly (*in aliquâ piorum Eccleſiâ, niſi communi aliquo & unanimi totius Eccleſiæ conſenſu hoc illis permittatur.*) "in "any Church of the Faithful, except "they be allowed thereto by the com"mon and unanimous conſent of the "whole Church. He affirms further, that thoſe Offices of miniſtring in the word, ſpoken of by St. *Paul* in his Epiſtles; "none ever of the Faithful in "the Primitive Church, took upon him

"him on his own head, except ſo ap-
"proved as before, or choſen thereto Fol. 52.
"by the Apoſtles. And however he is a.
much for popular Election, yet he would not have that to be without the advice and conduct of godly Biſhops and Paſtours. I will tranſcribe his words: *Divinæ ergo ordinationi & inſtitutioni priſtinæ nihil perinde conſentaneum videtur, quàm ſi univerſa fidelis alicujus populi Eccleſia ſimul cum doctis aliquot piiſque Epiſcopis, vel aliis viris fidelibus & rerum peritis, paſtorem aliquem deligant.* "There ſeems nothing ſo agreeable to "the Divine Ordinance and inſtituti-"on, as that the whole Aſſembly of "any faithful people, together with "ſome godly and learned Biſhops, or "other faithful men skilful in holy mat-"ters, chooſe to themſelves a Paſtor: ſo that it is apparent, he did not reject all outward Call as neceſſary (for this in the general he contends ſtiffly for) but his errour was in the miſplacing it, in accounting the choice of the people, taking to their aſſiſtance *ſome learned and godly Biſhops, or like prudent men*, to be a due outward Call, without any

other Ordination. But this, however much practiſed by the *Independents* (ſaving onely that they would have nothing to do with Biſhops, though never ſo godly or learned) has been generally rejected as an errour and grand ſchiſm, and indeed is ſo: it will be neceſſary therefore to conſider further, what this outward Call is, and to whom it belongs to confer it.

I have above proved out of St. *Paul's* Epiſtles, that the Apoſtles did chooſe, out of ſuch perſons as they had ordained, ſome one abler, graver, and more ſtedfaſt perſon, whom they ſet over the reſt of the Miniſtry within ſuch or ſuch a City or Precincts, as their Preſident or Governour, which perſon immediately, and even in thoſe very dayes, was peculiarly or eminently called the Biſhop. To this Preſident or Biſhop it is certain the power of Ordination was committed by the Apoſtles, *Tit.* 1, 4. *For this cauſe left I thee in* Crete, *that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in Every City as I had appointed thee.* And not onely this power, but the

the outward rite uſed in the exerciſe hereof, is evident by many paſſages to *Timothy*, 1 Ep. V, 22. *Lay hands ſuddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other mens ſin.* In other terms, *Ordain* no man to that Miniſtry for which he is unfit. By both theſe places it is plain, that theſe Preſidents or Biſhops had the power of Ordination given them by the Apoſtles; and by the later it appears, that *impoſition of hands* was the outward rite uſed in conferring orders: as alſo by 2 *Tim.* I, 6. and by 1 *Tim.* IV, 14: where that by the *laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*, we are to underſtand the impoſition of ſome other Apoſtles hands, who aſſiſted St. *Paul* in the Ordination of *Timothy*, is moſt amply proved by the ever Venerable Dr. *Hammond* in his Annotations on *Acts* XI. laſt. Now that theſe perſons, *Timothy* and *Titus*, were Biſhops (& moſt probably Metropolitans) not onely the Poſtſcripts of the Epiſtles directed to them, but conſtant tradition in all Church-ſtory, and the very power in thoſe Epiſtles mentioned to be given to them (Κρίνειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν in

the Language of *Theophylact*, the power of *Ordaining* and animadverting on or *judging* persons by them ordained) do beyond controversie evince. To say as some have done, from 1 *Tim.* IV, 5, that they were onely *Evangelists*, is as good sense as to say St. *Paul* was onely a *Deacon*, because he sometimes stiles himself Διάκονον (as *Ephes.* III, 7, &c.) word for word *a Deacon*, but we better render it *Minister*: and proportionably by doing the Work of an *Evangelist*, in the place to *Timothy*, we must understand doing the Work of a *Preacher*. There will be no end of confusion, if we will not distinguish betwixt the general and natural import of words, and their particular, or, as I may stile it, their artificial and more limited acceptation. And it is worthy our noting here what *Zuinglius* tells us, *Apostolorum nomen deposuerunt, ut primùm uni alicui Ecclesiæ affixi, illius curam continuam habuerunt.* "Whatever title of dignity those sacred persons had, if it were the Apostleship it self, they laid aside that title, when once being affixt to one par-

Eccles. astic. tol. 48.

"particular Church, they undertook "the continual care thereof. *Tunc non amplius Apoſtoli, ſed Epiſcopi dicti ſunt.* "Then they were no longer cal-"led Apoſtles, but Biſhops. This he founds on *Acts XXI*, 8, interpreting *Evangeliſt* Biſhop, for that *Philip* was Biſhop of *Caſarea*. Let then *Timothy* and *Titus* have been firſt Evangeliſts, yet when affixt the one to *Epheſus*, the other to *Crete*, they became truly Biſhops of the reſpective Sees. And to them as Biſhops, have we ſeen the power of Ordination to have been committed by the Apoſtle; we are ſure therefore to Biſhops it was committed.

Touching the ſolemnities uſed in this Office, we need not ſpeak. There is none will doubt, but *impoſition* of hands (the outward rite before aſſerted out of the Apoſtle) was accompanied by a *ſolemn benediction*; and we find *Faſting* and *Prayer* added hereto. *Acts XIII*, 3. We will therefore acquieſce herein, as the ſincereſt pattern or account of Primitive Ordinations.

That this power was committed to

meer Presbyters can never be proved. There are diverse of the Antients who expresly affirm, that at first, there were none of that second Order, which now we call Presbyters (or Priests) instituted; though it be certain that before *Ignatius* his time, that is, immediately after the decease of all the Apostles (except haply St. *John*) out of the world, they were come in into the Church. The Authorities may be seen in the place last cited of Dr. *Hammond*'s Annotations: and more at large, in his fourth Dissertation against *Blondell cap.* 19, 20, 21, 22. Whether the *Prophets* or Teachers in the Primitive Church, received any other Ordination, but that of Deacons (that is, of being assistants to the Bishops) seems very questionable; and truly, I should rather determine it in the Negative, for that we find both St. *Stephen* and St. *Philip*, who were then certainly onely Deacons, to have been eminent in this way. It is therefore highly probable, that the Bishops and *Deacons* were, in the scripture-times, the onely ordained persons. And if so, it is then sure,

Acts VII. & VIII.

Pre-

Presbyters never received the power of Ordination: for, having it not from the Apoſtles, becauſe they are ſuppoſed an Order not in being in their times, that they had it not from the ſucceeding Biſhops, is evident from the eldeſt Canons we have. *Apoſt. Can.* 1, 2. *& Conſtitut. Apoſt. Lib.* 3. *cap.* 11, *&c.* Indeed it were almoſt endleſs to reckon up the Eccleſiaſtical ſanctions and authorities, which reſerve Ordination as a peculiar prerogative of the Epiſcopal Order, and forbid presbyters ſolely to attempt any thing therein: nay really whatever aſſiſtance Presbyters contribute herein is, as far as I can find, by later Practice, and Law Eccleſiaſtical; though both undoubtedly upon grounds wholeſome enough: However, according to the beſt evidences I can ſee, the Authority properly lies in the Biſhop, and the Presbyters are aſſumed to him, onely for the ſecurity of the Church, and ſolemnity of the Action. And I may confidently ſay, there cannot be produced any one inſtance of ſole presbyters undertaking to ordain other presbyters, or even Deacons, which

Vid. 23 Diſtinct. Presbyter.

was

was not censured, at least as schismatical, if not Heretical, from the time of the Apostles, to the peoples casting out their Bishop at *Geneva*.

In the daies of the Great *Athanasius*, we find one *Colluthus* a Presbyter, who took upon him to ordain, and from whom *Ischyras*, one of *Athanasius* his most bitter adversaries, pretended to have derived his Orders: but in the Synodical Epistle of the *Ægyptian* Council at *Alexandria*, it is avowed Πᾶσα ἀνὴ χειροθεσία "All imposition of hands from "him was void: and the reason is rendred, because Πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐτελεύτησεν· "He died onely a presbyter: and therefore he is declared to have been Ἐν τῷ σχίσματι *in Schism*, and all those who were ordained by him, *communicated onely as Lay-persons*.

Extat in Athanas. Apol. 2da.

In *Epiphanius* his dayes, as he himself tells us, *Aerius* was alive, whom though I do not find to have attempted the Ordination of any, yet the Father accuses him of Heresie, for that he asserted the Order of Bishops and Presbyters to be one and the same, and the honour and dignity equal; and he confutes

Contr. Hæ. lib. 3. Tom. 1 Hæ. 75

utes him thus, *How is it possible that a Bishop and Presbyter should be equal, seeing the Order of Bishops is the Producer of Fathers, for it makes Fathers of the Church; whereas the order of Presbyters not being able to make Fathers, begets onely Sons of the Church by the* laver of regeneration, *but not Fathers or Doctours: for how should a Presbyter make any other, having not the power of imposition of hands?*

There is nothing of weight I have met with in antiquity objectible against this, but what some may draw from the doctrine of St. *Hierom*, who upon diverse inducements (sufficiently detected by others) was not the greatest friend to the Episcopal Order. Yet though he teach, that at first Bishop and Presbyter were both one Order (which possibly may be true enough, if understood as it ought, they being but two Scripture-names for the same thing, and the order which now we call presbyters, being of later date than Scripture, according to the judgment of diverse above-touched) and though he further tells us, the Bishop was set above the Pre-

sbyters onely for remedy of Schism, and so, that the difference of order and authority is onely of Ecclesiastical, not of Divine right (in which regard he could not be an *Aerian*, it not appearing that *Aerius* acknowledged any, even Ecclesiastical, disparity) yet in this point of Ordination, all who perúse him, however adversaries, if they will not obstinately contradict their senses, must confesse that he is more just to our Cause. For having endeavoured to equal both orders, as neer as he could, in this point yet he acknowledgeth the disparity in these words: *Quid enim facit, exceptâ Ordinatione, Episcopus, quod Presbyter non facit?* "What "does a Bishop, excepting onely Or- "dination, which a Presbyter doth "not? So that even in St. *Jerome*'s judgment sole Presbyters might not ordain. I find indeed some other Authorities, produced, to prove the parity of Bishops and Presbyters out of the Antients, but upon examination of them *I* conceive, any otherwise than as at first the terms were synonymous, all those Authorities abated: And *I* will not trouble my Reader

Exam. Part. 2. De Ordin.

In Ep. ad Euagr.

der with matters of this nature.

The Engliſh Reformation never varied this the Law and Practice of the Catholick Church: nor would the Forreign Reformers, could they have helped it. This is plain enough by the *Auguſtan* confeſſion, to which not onely the *Lutheran* Doctours, but *Calvin* himſelf ſubſcribed; *Facilè poſſent Epiſcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere*, &c. "The Biſhops might eaſily retain the "obedience due to them by Law (ſpeaking of Popiſh Biſhops) "would they "not urge ſuch Traditions which are "againſt good conſcience, & ſwear us not "to teach the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel, namely, the Reformed Religion. As to *Calviniſts*, the learned *Zanchy* "proteſts in his conſcience before God, he accounts all thoſe no other than Schiſmaticks, who made it a part of the Reformation to have no Biſhops ſet above their Presbyters in a degree of authority, where they may be had. And *Calvin* himſelf adjudges, "There is no *Anathema* which ſuch are not worthy of, "who would not be ſubject with all dutiful obedience to a Reformed Hie-

Cap. de poteſtat. clef.

sbyters onely for remedy of Schism, and so, that the difference of order and authority is onely of Ecclesiastical, not of Divine right (in which regard he could not be an *Aerian*, it not appearing that *Aerius* acknowledged any, even Ecclesiastical, disparity) yet in this point of Ordination, all who perúse him, however adversaries, if they will not obstinately contradict their senses, must confesse that he is more just to our Cause. For having endeavoured to equal both orders, as neer as he could, in this point yet he acknowledgeth the disparity in these words: *Quid enim facit, exceptâ Ordinatione, Episcopus, quod Presbyter non facit?* "What "does a Bishop, excepting onely Or- "dination, which a Presbyter doth "not? So that even in St. *Jerome*'s judgment sole Presbyters might not ordain. I find indeed some other Authorities, produced, to prove the parity of Bishops and Presbyters out of the Antients, but upon examination of them *I* conceive, any otherwise than as at first the terms were synonymous, all those Authorities abused: And *I* will not trouble my Reader

Exam. Pt. 2. De Ordin.

In Ep. ad Euagr.

der with matters of this nature.

The Engliſh Reformation never varied this the Law and Practice of the Catholick Church: nor would the Forreign Reformers, could they have helped it. This is plain enough by the *Auguſtan* confeſſion, to which not onely the *Lutheran* Doctours, but *Calvin* himſelf ſubſcribed; *Facilè poſſent Epiſcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere*, &c. "The Biſhops might eaſily retain the "obedience due to them by Law (ſpeaking of Popiſh Biſhops) "would they "not urge ſuch Traditions which are "againſt good conſcience, & ſwear us not "to teach the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel, namely, the Reformed Religion. As to *Calviniſts*, the learned *Zanchy* "proteſts in his conſcience before God, he accounts all thoſe no other than Schiſmaticks, who made it a part of the Reformation to have no Biſhops ſet above their Presbyters in a degree of authority, where they may be had. And *Calvin* himſelf adjudges, "There is no *Anathema* which ſuch are not worthy of, "who would not be ſubject with all dutiful obedience to a Reformed Hie-

Cap. de potestat. clef.

"rarchy. The paſſage is miſcited by ſome, as having been in his Epiſtle to *Sadolet*, but it is extant much more at large, than I have reported it, in his Book *De neceſſitate reformandæ Eccleſiæ.* Now if they would have left the Biſhops their lawful power, they muſt not certainly have invaded the power of Ordination: *Calvin* himſelf in the Book juſt now mentioned, acknowledged both the antiquity and wholeſomeneſs of thoſe Eccleſiaſtical ſanctions, that at leaſt three Biſhops ſhould join in the ordination of a Biſhop, & in the ordination of a Presbyter, the Biſhop ſhould adjoin to himſelf a competent number of his presbyters: and accuſes the popiſh Biſhops of thoſe dayes to have ſwerved from theſe Rules, to have loſt their power according to thoſe very ſanctions by being Hereticks (which surely cannot be imputed to our Biſhops) and propounds the conditions, upon which they might retein it. *Ut nominandi & ordinandi poteſtatem retineant, juſtum illud & ſerium doctrinæ vitæque examen reſtituant, &c.* "That they might re-
"tein their power of nominating and or-

Inter opuſc. in Fol. Genev. 1611. p. 69.

P a 57.

"ordaining, let them reſtore due exa-
"mination of life and manners, which
"now for many ages is out of uſe a-
"mongſt them. Let them ceaſe to be
"enemies to ſound Doctrine; which certainly cannot, but with the greateſt unreaſonableneſs, be imputed to the Biſhops of our Church, whoſe Doctrine, except in a very few controverted points, our very diſſenters themſelves will acknowledge ſound; and in thoſe very points, if the ſentence of better Judges than themſelves may be heard, is ſounder than their own. *Chemnitius* that learned *Lutheran*, is yet more expreſs. Anſwering that objection, Why the Miniſtry of the Reformed Church did not ſeek to be ordained by the popiſh Biſhops, he allows, *Si veri eſſent Epiſcopi, & profiterentur ſanam doctrinam, rectè hoc ſibi arrogarent.* "If they were true Biſhops, and profeſſed ſound doctrine, "they might rightly claim this to themſelves. But he challenges them of laying aſide the Work of true Biſhops (*viz.* miniſtring in the Word and Sacraments) and refuſing to ordain any

Exam. Conc. Trid. par. 2. Defacr. Ordin.

thereto, but to the offering the sacrilegous sacrifice of the Mass, &c. And though he deny the superiority of Bishops to Presbyters by Divine right, yet he allows it by Ecclesiastical law and Primitive practice, as St. *Hierom* did.

I will onely add, where any Bishops embraced the Reformed Doctrine, diverse of the Forreign Reformation, who were not ordained before, were so far from not acknowledging the power of Orders to be in them, that they sought for Ordination from them. Let us hear *George* Prince of *Anhault*, a reformed Divine, and afterward Bishop of *Mersburg*. "I, saies he, supplicated by "my Chaplain Mr. *James Styre*, to the "Godly Bishop of *Brandeburg*, Reve- "rend *Matthias* of *Jagan*, who at that "time by Divine Grace both knew and "profest the Reformed Doctrine, and "had received the true use of the Sa- "craments, and abolished all evident "abuses in ordination, that he would "be pleased to ordain me: and he had "performed that office for me, as he "had now most readily promised me, "had not our gracious God called him

In præf. fat. de ordin. fol. 62

out

"out of this life before the time: nor "was there then any other Bishop in "these Countries, which would per-"form it to me. Let the world now judge, if the reason why these men had not Episcopal ordination, were not because in those parts at that time there were no Bishops would join with them in the *Reformation*. Such was, and is, the state of those Churches! They must have Ministers and Sacraments as they can; and so the want of requisite orders amongst them, is their Misery rather than fault.

Sect. 5. The utmost which has been taught, within the Ages limited, with any allowance in the Church, is either, what our Dissenters, I presume, will be asham-ed to own, or will not help their cause: And 'tis, First, that the Pope, by reason of his *plenitude of power*, may give such a *Commission* to persons *not Bishops*, that they may confer the *Lesser Orders*, that is, those wherein *Absolution*, and the *consecrating* the *Eucharist* is not con-cern'd. This is the constant doctrine of the *Romish School-Divines* and *Canonists*. Hear the *Angelical* Doctour for them all de-

deciding the point. *Collatio Ordinum alicui dupliciter convenire potest: aut de jure communi ratione suæ ordinariæ potestatis, aut ex indulgentiâ, sive generali, sive speciali, ratione commissionis: & hoc ultimo modo conferre ordines convenit aliquibus, qui non sunt Episcopi.* Ordination by *common right* belongs only to *Bishops*: By *special* commission some *Cardinal Presbyters*, and by *general* certain *Abbots*, confer the lesser orders, that is, to the *Subdiaconate* inclusively: And the reason some of them give, is, because, even with them, those are no Sacraments. Would any man have thought, that the Pope himself, according to his own Doctours, can delegate no farther power of ordinations to Presbyters, however dignified, than that of making Subdeacons? Yet verily, so it is in their sense. And truly his very own creatures, the Fathers of *Trent* have given him no more. And even St. *Hierom* himself, however to repress the pride of some Deacons, who perkt up more than became their place, he sometimes mayn[illegible] Presbyters, yet will not allow [illegible] that any

Thom. in 4. sent. 25. Distin. 1. q 1. a.

Estius in 4. sent. Dist. ead.

Sess. 23. cap. 15. de Reform.

persons not Bishops may ordain, though in danger otherwise to want successours, & thence proves some to have had no successors because not being Bishops, they could not ordain Clerks. Contra Lucifcrianos.

But, was not the Father in this point too severe, & may not necessity dispense with what his Holiness's Doctours seem not to allow he may? Yes certainly may it, or else God help some Churches: To come then secondly, to what has been said most favourably of Non-Episcopal Ordination. It has been taught, though not by so many before the Reformation, as some seem to have pretended, that in case of necessity, & where Bishops cannot be had, Presbyters may ordain Presbyters. *Presbyterum Presbyteros ordinare posse, concedit cum Magistro sententiarum, sanior pars Scholasticorum, ut patet ad sent. 4. D. 25,* saith Bishop *Prideaux.* What Consectaries the Bishop might draw from the Masters words, I know not, but I find no such thing expressed, nor so much as fairly insinuated by the Master: and for *pars sanior* I am not judge enough to speak, but I am sure the *pars major* upon that distinction are a- Fascic. Contr. pag: 249.

gainſt it, and not one that *I* have ſeen on the Text (at leaſt expreſly) for it. Their *probleme* indeed (and as no other is it diſputed amongſt them) *Whether Epiſcopacy be a diſtinct Order*, or onely an *higher degree* of the ſame Order, may ſeem to have ſome tendency this way; in which point their Doctours are divided very much. But *I* will acknowledge theſe words in *Alex. de Hales. Similiter dicunt, quod ex demandatione Papæ, Ordinatus poteſt conferre ordinem quem habet.* "Some teach, that by au-
Par: 4: q. 9. memb. 5. a 1. "thority from the Pope, a perſon in "Orders may confer the Order he has; & we will ſuppoſe this delegation onely in caſe of Neceſſity. But, would any of our Claſſical presbyters be content to fetch their authority thence? I ſuppoſe not, when a certain great man of *Geneva* would rather acknowledge *Calvin* never to have been ordained at all (and
Beza, in vit. Calvin. ſo to have been without any ordinary Call) than own him (*Papiſticis ordinibus initiatum*) in orders in the Church of *Rome*, though *Bolſec* tells us he
In vit: Calv. was, and officiated ſome time in a Cure at *Noyon* in *Piccardy*. Again *Richar-*

du

dus Armachanus, whom *Bellarmin* will not allow to have been Orthodox touching the power of Presbyters, is indeed more absolute, and hangs not this authority on the Pope. *Videtur quod si omnes Episcopi simul essent defuncti, sacerdotes minores possent ordinare Episcopos.* "It "would seem, that if all the Bishops "were dead together, priests of infe= "riour order (*viz.* presbyters) might or= dain Bishops: that is, they might choose out of themselves an ordained person, a presbyter, whom they might conse= crate or set apart as Bishop: but he does not say, they might ordain a person, that never was ordained, though that may be acknowledged as a consectary thence. I must therefore say still, that I want an express antient autho rity for this doctrine, even in case of necessity. And it is very considerable, God from the beginning never suffered the Christian Church to be reduced to this Necessity, which possibly is the rea= son that the case was not of old more narrowly sifted and determined.

Descri= ptor Eccl. Ann. 1350. Quæst: Armen. l. 11 c. 7.

But though to deal sincerely, I can= not find such antient authority, yet I do see some reason, which may plead

for it. It is certain (1) Neceſſity does many times warrant thoſe violations of poſitive Laws, which it enforceth: it is not ſo indeed in Natural Laws, the obligation of which I conceive no neceſſity can take off. We know who taught us, I *will have mercy and not ſacrifice.* Rather than have no Sacraments, no publick Worſhip, no Order in the Church, uncanonical Ordination (by ſole presbyters *I* mean) might be admitted, which I conceive to be the caſe of divers of the Forreign Reformed Churches, and it may be was the caſe of ſome particular perſons amongſt us, in the end of our late Civil Wars. And (2) though it be true, *Nil dat quod non habet*, yet there ſeems ſome natural reaſon, that a man may confer the power, that he has. The main power then that presbyters pretend to, being that of adminiſtring the Sacraments, preaching, and otherwiſe officiating in the publick Worſhip, and there being, no doubt, but generally all presbyters at their Ordination, received this power, what ſhould hinder, but they may convey or propagate it, that

that is, ordain Presbyters? If any ſay Canonical Sanction hinders, I allow it, and both acknowledge, & have proved, regularly they cannot; becauſe though they received power to miniſter as aboveſaid, yet not power of themſelves to tranſmit or confer on others ſuch power. Yet foraſmuch as the power of governing the Church, our Lord Jeſus being departed out of the World, devolved regulary to his Apoſtles, whom he had appointed, and the ſame power, after the deceaſe of the Apoſtles, devolved to the Biſhops whom they had ordained, ſo put the caſe (which *Armachanus* above does) that all the Order of Biſhops were extinct (or, which is much the ſame, were Heretical, enemies to the true doctrine of the Goſpel, and would ordain none but firſt ſworn to maintain that enmity) who ſhall ſay but the power of Ordination juſtly enough devolves to ſuch Catholick and Orthodox Presbyters? And that the rather, becauſe as the true Church is by the promiſe of Chriſt to continue to the end of the World, and he has obliged himſelf ſo long to *be with*

it, so he being supposed by such extinction of the superiour Order, to have providentially cast the supreme propagative power in Spirituals upon such Presbyters, at least within such Territories or parts of the World, who shall say (admitting still that they profess, believe and teach [*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*] the true antient Catholick Faith, and are publickly desirous of that antient regular Unity, which through the fate of their circumstances, they cannot attain) who I say shall implead these men, that they violate the orders and appointments of Christ Jesus? This, I say again, I take to be the case of most of the Forreign Reformed Churches: they do strictly for the main, hold the true Catholick Faith; they had very few of the Episcopal Order (in many parts none) who would admit the Reformation, or ordain any who would not abjure it; the Order therefore thus amongst them became morally extinct: they were and are, as far as their circumstances will admit, desirous of the regular Unity and Discipline all along maintained

ed, in the Catholick Church(Much hath been ſaid already evidencing this, more might be added, not onely out of the firſt reformers, but out of ſome principal Doctours of thoſe Churches now alive) I muſt therefore not onely acquit, but juſtify thoſe Churches, and that upon the grounds given, in this behalf.

But this is not at all the caſe of our diſſenters. It is one thing for Presbyters thus deſerted and abandoned by their Hereticall Biſhops, to aſſemble and ordein, where there can be, or will be ſuffered, no Ordination by Orthodox and truly Catholick Biſhops; and another thing for them to thruſt out ſuch Biſhops, uſurp their office, and refuſe Ordination from them. This was not at all the practice of thoſe reformed Churches. *Utinam ſicut nomina*, &c. "O that our "Biſhops, (ſay their Doctors) as they bear "the names and titles, ſo would in good "earneſt perform the offices of Biſhops! "O that they would teach agreeably "to the Goſpell, or faithfully govern "their Churches according to it! Oh "how willingly & with what joy of heart "would we accept, reverence, and obey "them Sect. 6. Georg: Princ. Anhalt de Ordin: in Præfat.

"them as Biſhops, yield them their due "jurisdiction, and both attribute Ordi- "nation to them, and without refuſeall "take it from them: The ſame thing "which both I alwaies, and Dr. *Luther* "himſelf very often, both by word of "mouth and in writeing, nay and in "publick ſermons in the Cathedrall "Church of *Mersburg*, have proteſted "and promiſed: This is not to throw out Proteſtant Reformed Biſhops, to make head, even after their reſtaura- tion, againſt their power, and to op- poſe ordination from them, contrary to the Lawes of the Catholick Church, and even of our own Kingdome.

To come then to an iſſue in ſhort: I ſay no man in theſe Realms can make out a *Call* to the Miniſtry who at leaſt has not received *Epiſcopall Ordination*. The neceſſity of an outward call has been already evidenced, and more much might be ſaid, that an inward call Suf- ficeth not: For though a man were ſup- poſed ſufficiently aſſured in his own con- ſcience, to warrant his own practice be- fore God, yet except there be ſome outward teſtimony of this miſſion, man, can-

cannot; and then, as to the world, ſuch perſon has no call (*De non exiſtentibus & non apparentibus eadem ratio*) and conſequently his Miniſtry is of no authority. Even our Lord Jeſus himſelf, as he *took not this Office upon himſelf, but being called by God, as was* Aaron, ſo neither did he content himſelf with a meer inward Call. *The Heavens were opened, and the ſpirit of God deſcended like a Dove, and lighted upon him. And lo, a voice from Heaven, ſaying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed; Hear ye him.* Behold here an outward ſenſible Call from Heaven, and the firſt inſtance of it antecedent to our Lords preaching. Beſides that all along, *The works which he did, teſtified of him.* Now, ſuch a Call as this, none now adayes can pretend. Thoſe therefore, who will prove their Miſſion from God, muſt be content to own it to be from him *mediately*, *viz.* by the Miniſtry of men authoriſed by God. Now, God having committed *all power into the hands of Chriſt*, none can conwey this power of Miniſtry, but thoſe who have it from Chriſt and

Hebr. V. 4.

Mat. III 16, 17. & XVII 5.

his Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſours duly ſent. And then, according to the conſtant Doctrine of the Holy Catholick Church, evidently founded on Scripture, no perſons otherwiſe ordained (except haply in caſe of inevitable neceſſity) than by Biſhops, can pretend to an outward Call. It will not avail our diſſenters to ſay, they were neceſſitated to accept ſuch irregular ordination, (which, according to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, I have ſaid to be null) for they may have their imperfect ordination compleated, or be regularly ordained, if they pleaſe. It will not ſuffice them to ſay, they have as good an outward Call as the Miniſtry in the Forreign Churches: for in diverſe of them they have Biſhops; in others where they have not the *name*, they have the *thing*; and where they have neither, they have a *neceſſity*, in a manner *invincible*, to plead for this irregularity. In a word, our men have not ſo much of an outward Call, as we have ſeen even *Zwinglianiſm* it ſelf avowes neceſſary; they cannot ſay they were *choſen by the people with the approbation*

of

of godly Bishops. Nay, they have not so much of an outward Call, as *Erastus* himself would allow of: They are not chosen by the people with the approbation of the Magistrate; our King, both by his Laws and Proclamations, interdicting this their pretended Ministry. There being then none of the antient, none of present Reformed Churches, whose Doctrine or practice will own this practice of theirs, they hereby cut themselves off, from the Body of Christ; and how they will escape the grievous guilt of Schism, if my words would signifie any thing, *I* would beseech them in the fear of God, and with tender regard to their own souls, and the souls of such whom they draw into Schism with them, that they would consider.

But besides the sin of Schism, *I* fear they may, when they please to be impartial, find some farther guilt in this their practice: For having no due Call to the Ministry, they are *intruders* into that sacred Office; intruders too (generally) upon a double account. First, as usurping the Office: Second-

ly, as exercising that Office *in provinciâ alienâ*, in other mens bounds, and without their consent, where, if these men were lawfully ordained, yet they had nothing to do to intermeddle; at least so far, as, on the dayes, and at the very hours of publick Worship, to *set up altar against altar*, and not onely foment, but propagate separations. I will not use one exasperative word, but if either scripture, or reason (not to speak any thing of the authority of the Catholick, or our particular Church, which possibly some little value) if these, I say, or the rules of common and natural justice, signifie any thing amongst them, let them remember, that St. *Paul*, however as St. *Chrysostome* somewhere stiles him (ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδασκαλος) *the Teacher of the Universe*, declined, as far as might be, to interpose within other mens compass: let them consider, were they lawfully entitled to the care of those Flocks, and bound to give an account to God for the souls of such of them as miscarry, which we are, how they would take from us, such practice as this of theirs;

theirs? Especially, when they must acknowledge us, neither *negligent*, nor it may be, comparatively to themselves, *insufficient* for our charg: Let them assign to themselves or the world, what end of confusions and schismes there can possibly be, if it shall be lawful, when we are all agreed upon necessary truths, for every one that thinks he has better gifts, or a more effectual way of instilling Godliness and spiritual Truths into the hearts of men, without any publick approbation, or so much as promise by him given, that he will keep to the Common Faith, to enter into other mens Charges, and draw away as many as he can to his new waies. Upon these Principles how can they forbid Papists, Anabaptists, Quakers, and all like sorts, to do daily the same to them, they do to us? Nay, do not these people, upon the same reasons, every day do the same to them? And how can they condemn those who *mete by their own measures*? It is truly, and most reasonably, stated by Learned Dr. *Field*, that there are "Three things implied in the calling of

Of the Church l. 3. c. 39.

"Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters. Firſt, An "Election or Deſignment of perſons fit "for ſo high and excellent imploiment. Secondly, "The conſecrating of them, "and giving them power and authori= "ty to intermeddle with things per= "taining to the ſervice of God. Third= "ly, the aſſigning and dividing to "each man thus ſanctified, that porti= "on of Gods people which he is to "take care of. And it is certain, both from ſcripture and antiquity, that the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and their immedi= ate ſucceſſours, commonly ſo divided thoſe whom they had converted, that each City, and the places adjoining, made up but one Church. Now this aſſignation intitleing then the *Paſtours* to their Flocks, ſhould any in the A= poſtles dayes have come from another City, and intermeddled in a City aſ= ſigned to others (from *Epheſus* ſuppoſe to *Corinth*) and out of the Faithful there, under pretence of greater gifts, or a purer way, gathered a particular Church, and ſet up a way of Worſhip in oppoſition to that maintained by the regular Miniſtry of that Church, would not

not this have been then adjudged both a *ſchiſm*, and an *intruſion*? Or could ſuch New-comer, becauſe ſeveral people followed him, and preferred his Miniſtry, avow he had a due call to the Miniſtry in ſuch place? Admit but this practice lawfull, and withall but ſuppoſe, that in a multitude there are ſome giddy, and not a few taken with Novelties, and there will be no end of diviſions. And this is plainly the caſe betwixt the Non-conforming Preachers and our ſelves. In ſumme then, theſe pretenders to a *neceſſity of preaching*, having no call, neither to the Office (moſt of them) nor (any) to the exercíſe of it where they do exerciſe it, Reaſon & juſtice are ſo far from allowing any neceſſity to lye upon them to preach, in the preſent ſenſe, that if they would, all circumſtances conſidered, duly apply the Text of St. *Paul*, in ſtead of ſaying, *Wo be to us if we preach not*, they ought to ſay, *Wo be to us if* (in theſe circumſtances) *we preach*; as exceeding the bounds of our *Calling*, and at once tranſgreſſing the rules of Juſtice, in doing otherwiſe than we would

be

be done by, and together the Laws of God, of the Catholick Church, of this Church, and of the Realm.

Sect. 7. Luke 9. But they will ſay, they are bound in conſcience: They have *put their hands to the plough, and are not to look back*; the *Flocks* which they *feed* are their own, and have *choſen* them for their *Paſtours*; there is a *Covenant* entred betwixt them and their Flocks, and there riſes hence a ſpiritual conſanguinity, all which obligations they cannot in conſcience violate.

This is but the ſame thing over again in other words, and to give it likewſe an anſwer over again in other words: Conſcience, or the practical judgment, when it acts contrary to, or beſides its rule, is not conſcience, but imagination, erroneous conceit, arrogance, or obſtinacy, as the caſe ſtands: It is plain by the premiſſes, that the rule in this caſe dictates the contrary, and therefore there can be no ſound proceſs of Conſcience in the matter; what there is of the Evils taxed, it concerns them who are guilty, reſpectively to conſider.

More

More particularly, as to the points pretended to oblige conſcience; We would perſwade none, who have given themſelves up to God for the ſervice of his Church in the Miniſtry, to revoke their own act; let them ſerve therein as they are capable: but then let them *enter by the door*, and not, by *climbing* in ſome indirect *way*, be ſo injurious to themſelves, as to draw on themſelves the guilt of being *thieves* and *robbers*. Oh! how willingly would we ſee them regular Preachers, reforming and reducing the ſchiſms they have been guilty of making, or acceſſory to, and drawing in the ſame yoke with our ſelves! What joy would it be to us, what comfort to themſelves one day, and what benefit at preſent to the Church, for them to employ their parts and zeal, to peace, unity, charity and true Chriſtianity! But this can never be done by the courſe they take: *They that gather not with us, ſcatter abroad.*

Then, as to meer popular Election intitleing them to the care of ſuch particular portions of the Flock of Chriſt, and ſo making a Call, this pretence is

partly falſe, partly ſchiſmatical. If we ſhould come to a *Poll* in the pariſhes where they preach, they would not have in moſt places, one fourth, in diverſe, not one tenth man: I am modeſt in the account. But they are choſen by thoſe by whom they are choſen, and ſo they are intitled to theſe. Such popular Election, I ſay, is ſchiſmatical, and 'tis already proved ſuch. For either theſe men themſelves, or their predeceſſors, ſeduced the people from their lawful Paſtours into ſuch privy Aſſemblies, and this made the ſchiſm: and the ſchiſm being thus made, to accept of the choice of ſuch a people, and, by virtue of it, to head them, is to maintain and propagate the ſchiſm.

The ſame too is to be ſaid touching any Church Covenant, as they call it, entred into by ſuch pretended Paſtour and Flock. And let it be judged whether, if any, or all theſe pretences, would make up a due Call, all Hereticks and Sectaries in the world, who have but any numbers, might not avow the ſame. And what end, I ſay, can there then be of Confuſion, Diviſion, and

and *every evil work*? It is plain therefore, the pretence of meer conſcience upon theſe or like grounds, is moſt frivolous, and would ſerve any the moſt erroneous, ſchiſmatical, or Enthuſiaſtick parties in the world.

But ſome, poſſibly, may ſay, if Ordination by ſole Presbyters be valid in any caſe, why not in all? The perſons ordaining being ſuppoſed ſtill of the ſame Order, why ſhould not the virtue & efficacy be ſtill the ſame? Now, the validity of Presbyters ordaining, has been acknowledged in the caſe of ſome; and more caſes may be imagined, in which, neceſſity may preſs as much: As, ſuppoſe ſome Presbyters (or even private Chriſtians) were caſt on an Heathen Iſland, where, in proceſs of time they converted the inhabitants to the Faith, but could come at no Biſhop who might ordain a competent number of Miniſters, nor even ſucceſſors for themſelves; might not theſe Prieſts lawfully ordain others, and ſhould not ſuch Ordination be valid? And allowing this, that ſuch Ordination, be to the perſons ſo ordained, a Sect. 8.

good and effectual outward Call to the Miniſtry, how can it be ſaid in other caſes, that thoſe who were ſent by ſole Presbyters, which are ſtill of the ſame order and power, have not a like good and effectual Call, and ſo, as much *neceſſity lying* on them *to preach*?

To the Objection, *I* ſay, No man, that I know, ever accounted Ordination valid, upon any ſuppoſal of certain *internal qualifications* or virtues thereby imparted. If the validity thereof did ly meerly in ſome ſuch ſuppoſed Communications, it were true, admitting theſe Communications to be ſtill the ſame (as there is little reaſon not to admit it) it were true, I ſay, that Ordination from Presbyters being valid in caſe of Neceſſity, would be valid alſo otherwiſe; the perſons, at leaſt, the Order, and conſequently the Communications being the ſame. But all, that Ordination confers, is a *Power to officiate in holy* things; now to the conferring of ſuch a Power, it is evidently requiſite, that he who confer it, have himſelf received power to confer it (otherwiſe his act is null): And this power

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er he muſt have, either in Ordinary method and due regular courſe, or by ſome extraordinary means; of which, beſides Revelation, I know none aſſignable, but invincible Neceſſity. Now, though perhaps no man will ſay, that ſuch Neceſſity puts any *new internal virtues* into any *Office*, yet, I conceive, it cannot reaſonably be denied, but that it caſts a *lawful power* in many caſes upon men, which otherwiſe they would not have; namely, it inveſts them with that *Right*, which by *Law Poſitive* they have not.

Now, as to the particular caſe put, for the corroborating the Objection: Touching ſuch Prieſts (nay, even ſuch private Chriſtians; if it ſhould ſo happen) thus neceſſitated to ordain, it might rationally be ſaid *The ſeal of their Apoſtleſhip*, were thoſe Converts *in the Lord*. *If they were not* Biſhops, nay, even *Apoſtles unto others*, *yet doubtleſs were* they Apoſtles to ſuch people. In expreſs terms, their local ſeparation from all Biſhops, joined with the conſideration of their ſucceſs, would providentially conſtitute them Biſhops (or 1.Cor. IX.2.

more) at leaſt impower them to Epiſcopal acts for the preſent Neceſſity, if not inveſt them with a right to preſide in, and govern thoſe Churches, as the Apoſtles (ſeveral of them) did the Churches which were of their converſion. But there are two things here to be noted: Firſt, that this providence would as truly impower Lay-men to ordain, as Presbyters; and ſo it helps not all thoſe with whom we have to do. And ſecondly, 'tis worthy to be remembred; that this is an *imaginary caſe*, which is not known, as far as I can underſtand, to have come to paſs. St. *Philip* indeed (we will ſuppoſe the Deacon) converted *Samaria*, but no fate or Neceſſity precluded his recourſe to the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*; and S. *Peter* and S. *John* were ſent down to the *Samaritan* Church for the regular Conſtitution thereof. *Socrates* alſo reports, that *Ædeſius* & *Frumentius* (according to his relation) without doubt Lay-perſons, converted a certain Tract of *Indians* to Chriſtianity; but having had ſucceſs at firſt, on ſome ſmaller number of the people, *Frumentius* came over

Eccl: Hiſtor: lib: 1. c. 15.

ver to *Athanaſius* the great, then Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and deſired of him he would be pleaſed to ſend a Biſhop, and ſome Prieſts for aſſiſtance, over to the *Indians*, for the fuller converſion of the Countrey: upon which *Frumentius* himſelf, being by *Athanaſius* adjudged the fitteſt man to be their Biſhop, was by him ordained Biſhop; who therefore ſoon returned, carrying with him diverſe Prieſts, and the ſucceſs was great. So conſtantly has Providence own'd and maintained this Holy Order, that the Divine indulgence ſeems never to have neglected it, never to have ſettled a Church without it!

I ſhall not ſuppoſe I need to ſay any more for the aſſerting the Validity of Ordinations in the *Calvinian*, and diverſe of the *Lutheran* Churches (pardon me if for diſtinctions ſake *I* uſe the names) where they had no Biſhops at the Reformation; or for the diſengaging my diſcourſe from any objections, which may be made from my Conceſſions or Aſſertions in that behalf. Thoſe Churches *themſelves* will acknowledge themſelves to have been all along much unſettled, though

though ſome of them made to themſelves Biſhops, according to *Armachanus* his way above mentioned (Such was the Ordination of *George* Prince of *Anhault* to the Biſhoprick of *Merſburg*, according as the Letters teſtimonial thereof, penn'd by *Melanchton*, and extant in the *Prince*'s life, report) & ſo arrived neerer to a regular Conſtitution: And all *other perſons* of the Reformed Religion, who will hear reaſon, muſt allow ſomething extraordinary in that great revolution of the Reformation.

Melch: Adam. Vit: Germ. Theol. p: 246.

Sect. 9. I ſhall rather therefore praiſe God, and admire the peculiar favour of his Providence towards the *Engliſh* Church above moſt, if not all other Churches of the Reformation; againſt which Church even Envy her ſelf, had it been poſſible to have ſtopt her mouth, muſt in this regard, have been eternally ſilent. It pleaſing God, in the *beginning*, to encline the hearts of our Princes, and *Biſhops*, as well as diverſe of the greateſt quality, towards the Reformation, when the *Fulneſs of time*, according to the Divine diſpoſal, was now come, there were ſeveral of our Biſhops, touching

ching whoſe regular Ordination no men, who were not blind with malice, could move any queſtion, which appeared, as became their places, in the front of the Reformers: inſomuch that the very *Romaniſts* themſelves, when they will be juſt to their own Conſciences, and candidly ſpeak their genuine ſentiments, muſt needs acknowledge (as ſome of them in effect have done) that we no more want due ſucceſſion of Biſhops regularly ordained than themſelves; and poſſibly we ſhall not find the ſucceſsion, in our Prelates, through whoſe hands it hath come, at any time ſo fowly tainted, as it has often been in the pretended Holy Chair. However, on all hands, our Miniſterial power is ſecure. Let Epiſcopacy be of the ſtricteſt *divine* right any can imagine, we cannot for want thereof be convinced ever to have been unchurched; Let it be onely of *Eccleſiaſtical* right, none can implead us as irregular: Nay, let any tell us, our Biſhops by the Reformation became Hereticks, and were excommunicated as ſuch by the *Roman* Church (as we know in reality our

whole Church is now) yet till *Rome* disclaim the Doctrine of her own Schools, touching the Validity of Orders from Bishops turned Hereticks and cut off from the Church, they can never, by their own principles, invalidate our Ordination, or pretend against us, as they do against others, that we have neither Priests nor Sacraments. I see no need to take notice of some devised Fables amongst them, which besides, that even themselves, as well as others, have long since been known in private to have laught at, as ingenious pieces of Drollery, have been sufficiently detected and exploded in the face of the World. *I* may therefore truly rejoice, we are, in this behalf, above both their Arguments and their Calumnies.

And as to those Dissenters, who may seem to be risen out of our own bowels, whatsoever some of them, who are too much inclined to Enthusiasms, may impute to a few of us, touching our want of what they call *Gifts*, yet they must acquit the generality even in this case; and so acknowledge, as much as man is capable to judge of, as to our inward

Call:

Call: but touching the regularity of our Outward Miſſion, they have no pretence of reaſon to oppoſe to us. They muſt allow our Biſhops to be Presbyters at leaſt, and then the Biſhops never ordaining any Presbyters, but by the aſſiſtance of other Presbyters (to which and other purpoſes, they have a ſtanding Council of grave and learned Divines commonly reſident in their Churches, called in ordinary language, the *Dean* and *Chapter* of the Church) they cannot deny, but all Presbyters amongſt us were ordained by the *impoſition of the hands of the Presbytery*. Further, in the Aſſignation of his charge to each of us, though as ſome contend (without any ſufficient reaſon) the people ought alwayes to have their choice, yet, becauſe the conſequences of ſuch popular Elections in innumerable inſtances have been, and would ſtill be found to be of moſt wretched and miſchievous influence (for which cauſe ſuch proceedings have been in a great meaſure laid aſide in the Church now theſe many ages) therefore no ſober perſon can ſay, that ſuch

choice is essential to any mans outward Call to the Ministry in this or that place. Notwithstanding it very seldome comes to pass, that any Minister is intituled to any Parochial Charge, without the consent either of some particular Chief persons amongst them, or of the person (of old) intrusted by the people to nominate for them the Patron, or of the generality of them themselves; though if the people should be some time imposed upon for their good, as we may have seen it in some cases to have fallen out, they have no reason to complain of the injury. However sure it is, for the main, no man can be either Ordained, or instituted into any Benefice, against whom any of the Laity can make any just exceptions; provided those who have such exceptions to make, will be faithful and diligent enough to bring them in in season, and undertake the proof of them: The contrary pretence, if made by any, proceeds either from ignorance of our Church-laws, or from malicious calumny. So that I say still, though the people have not their plenary choice, or sole nomination, yet the Law

Laws and practice of our Church provide for ſecuring their right of approbation, or (at leaſt) tacit conſent. Some imperfections there will be in all Churches while on earth, but truly as few in our Church (eſpecially in this behalf of the Miſſion of her Clergy) as in any that I know under Heaven.

I joy, dear Mother, when I view
Thy perfect lineaments and hue.—
Bleſſed be God, whoſe love it was,
To double moat thee with his Grace,
And none but thee.

Mr. Herbert The Britiſh Church

But I ſhall too far digreſs: The ſumme is, it is apparent, that as to our moſt clamorous pretenders to a *Neceſſity of preaching*, and to a tender dread of a *Wo to them if they preach not*, in the preſent ſenſe, as to all I mean, who are not called to the Miniſtry as before ſtated, the caſe is directly contrary; They ought not in theſe circumſtances to preach, they ſin in diverſe regards in ſo doing; and, I hope, they will not in expreſs terms aver, they are under a Neceſſity of living in a courſe of known ſin: Their pretences for themſelves, againſt our Church, their cries

for that order which there is in other Reformed Churches, are so far from being just, that we have all reason to admire and adore the singular favour of God towards our Church in its happy regularity above others: and if they would have reformed according to the *Pattern of the best Reformed Church* in being, they ought not to have altered the constitution of ours, but conformed themselves thereunto.

Sect. 10. It will be laid now, Does there then ly a *Necessity* upon all who are *duly called*, to *preach*. So that *Wo be to them if they preach not*, as now we take Preaching?

Before this can be directly answered, there must be two considerables premised. First, that there being *diversities of Gifts*, and *diversities of Administrations*, all men are not by their very Ordination, designed to the same part or kind of Ministring. We have seen it was not so even in the very Primitive dayes: All *Elders* that *ruled well*, did not notwithstanding *labour in the Word and Doctrine*. Besides, it has been made evident, that the name *Preaching* is

is now become a Term of Art, and ſignifies with us, what *Tractare* did with the *Latine* Fathers, to make in publick a kind of Commentary, with occaſional Exhortations and Applications, on ſome Text of Scripture, or to inſtruct the Faithful on ſome particular ſubject: now this is not the ſame with bare publication of the Goſpel, or the old and proper Preaching. All in Orders have authority to preach, or publiſh the Goſpel, by *publick ſolemn reading* of it; but all have not authority to make thereon publick *comments* of their own. This difference is intimated in the very *Form* of *Ordination*. To the *Deacon* it is ſaid, Take thou Authority to read the Goſpel in the Church of God, and to preach the ſame, if thou be licenſed thereto by the Biſhop himſelf. But to the Prieſt, Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to adminiſter the Sacraments, &c. *It* is very certain from Antiquity, that Preaching, in the preſent ſenſe, was long reſerved as a peculiar of the Biſhop (Πρεσβυτέρων γνώμῃ, in *Juſtin Martyr.*) and ſome tell

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us, it is still in the Eastern Church. But yet that it was earlily required of the Presbyters, we have already seen out of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions; and *Ferrarius* has many more authorities, to which I refer the Reader. But it is sure, 'twas onely committed to the more learned and eminent of the Presbyters at first (especially in great Churches) *Episcopus autem quos doctos viderit, &c.* Thus much must be acknowledged also to be the meaning of that *Canon* of the *Cæsar-Augustan* Council. *Nequis Doctoris nomen sibi imponat, præter has personas, quibus est concessum, secundum quod scriptum est.* "Let "no one impose upon himself the name "of a Doctour, besides those to whom "it hath been granted, according as it "is written. The Council, I presume, refer to *Hebr.* V. 4, *No man taketh this Office upon him, &c.* And I cannot conceive what *Licences* to preach should signifie, when granted even to Presbyters, if all Presbyters by their Ordination had received equal power to preach in the present sense, as some pretend.

Rit. Conc. lib. 2. c. 1.

Can. 5

Secondly, All who have received power

power to preach, are not to exerciſe it at liberty where they pleaſe, but in the places aſſigned to them. This is again apparent by the very Form of Ordination: Take thou Authority to preach, &c. in the Congregation where thou ſhalt be lawfully appointed thereto. God is not the *God of Confuſion, but of Order*; and *The ſpirit of the Prophets are ſubject to the ſpirits of the Prophets.* Preachers may often hear as well as preach, and it will as well become them (*in loco*) in place and time convenient. By the Lawes of the Church, Men are not generally ordained without Titles (The Antients held all ſuch Ordinations void) And being ordained, they are appointed to exerciſe their Miniſtry in the particular places, to which they are limited, within ſuch a ſphere, and at times and ſeaſons allowed. Men muſt not ἀλλοτριεπισκοπεῖν interpoſe themſelves into other mens Charges, or thruſt their *ſicle* into anothers *Harveſt*, but each attend what he is authoriſed to, and in his own ſphere. This the Lawes of God, the Lawes of the Church, and al

1 Pet. 4. 15.

wholesome Rules of Polity require.

These things being thus premised, I say, Every *Minister* who is *called to preach*, that is, who is licensed, and has his place assigned him wherein he is to preach, taking preaching in the sense the people commonly take it at present, is in *duty bound* so to preach, and to preach ordinarily *as often* as the *Law* for the present *allows*, and his own *abilities* and due *attendances* on *other parts* of his Ministry will bear. And for proof hereof, I argue by parity of Reason, from such passages, as that Text of St. *Paul's*, touching himself, so often mentioned, *A Necessity is laid upon me, and wo be unto me, if I preach not*; and that of his to *Timothy*, *I charge thee therefore before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearance, Preach the Word: Be instant in season, and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and Doctrine*, and from other like places. From whence, in brief, I say, if St. *Paul* having an extraordinary and immediate Call, had a necessity lay on him to preach the Go-

Sect. 11

2. Tim. IV. 1, 2.

Goſpel in that extraordinary way, wherein he was called, if *Timothy* being called in ſomewhat a more ordinary way, was in his Charge to be inſtant in *Preaching* (to the yet Heathens perhaps) in *Doctrine* (to the faithful) in *reproofs*, *rebukes*, *exhortations*, to all, both *in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, then we alſo who are yet in a more ordinary way to teach and build up the Faithful, and convince Gainſayers, are to be diligent in our Miniſtry, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, as we have occaſion and ability, that is, in our preſent language, we are to preach as *often*, as we *well can* and *may*.

It is true, I have above mentioned ſeveral other kinds of preaching, beſides this publick in our pulpits, and thoſe kinds no leſs neceſſary in every Pariſh than is this. Reſolving caſes of conſcience, private inſtructions and rebukes to particular perſons as they need them, conduct and counſel to the ſick, inſtructing children in the underſtanding of the Catechiſm, and even occaſional religious diſcourſes with neigh-

bours, may be truly enough reduced to the general head of preaching: and we find very often more good done in these methods, wherein we have the advantage of interlocution and mutual exchanging words, than in publick Sermons; at least, these make our Sermons more useful: Nor can it be thought, that publick Sermons either should thrust out these, or any wise commute for the neglect of them. But in common language we do not call these preaching: however they will be understood to be comprehended under that term, *Due attendance on other parts of our Ministry.* Now, *I* say, these being supposed done, I conceive every Minister, as far as his abilities will bear, bound ordinarily to preach upon all Licit, and usual opportunities. For it seems plain to me, that Divine injunctions and precedents, interpreted by parity of reason, thus far reach us.

Sect. 12. Further, Secondly, though much might be said, and something suddenly shall, touching the need of preaching (whatever some are pleased to think) yet at pre-

preſent we will onely ſay, Whether it be really needful, or not, does not much vary the caſe; it is ſufficient to make it neceſſary that the people think it ſo, and will not generally be ſatisfied without its frequency. In the beginning of the Reformation, as there was much need of *preaching*, by reaſon of the groſs ignorance the people had been long kept in, ſo there was all diligence uſed to procure and ſet it up every where, as much and as often as the ſtate of the age would bear; and this vaſtly furthered the proteſtant Cauſe: Now people will not be perſwaded, but the Armes which got us the *victory*, are ſtill fit for our *defence*; what at firſt promoted ſo much the Proteſtant Religion, is a proper and natural mean to maintain it, and give it all advantages. We ſee there is ſcarce any publick Office of Religion, that the greater part of men amongſt us would not rather part with, than Sermons; and though this ſhould be admitted to be, as much perhaps it is, their weakneſs and want of judgment, yet *we that are ſtrong, ought to bear the* Rom: XV. 1, 2.

infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves. Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification: For even Christ pleased not himself. The same was our Apostles Practice as well as Doctrine, *I am all things to all men, if by any means I might save some.* Both our Lord and his Apostles seem to have made it their business, though with the greatest disease and pain to themselves, to humour the weaker sort into Christianity, and to have complied with them, till they had won them to a reciprocal compliance. And sure we cannot think our selves wiser than these so great Masters in gaining souls. But admit it were not our duty by so great labours, as our frequent preaching comes to, to comply with the weaker sort, who think it needful perhaps when it is not, yet still, except we think the loss of them is not to be regarded, it will be necessary to maintain it a while to instruct them better, to shew them the matters which are more needful, and to convince them of their mistaken judgment; all which will not be done on a sudden, nor with a few Sermons.

1. Cor. 9. 22.

A third Argument then which may evince the Neceſſity lying on us thus frequently to preach, is not onely the expectation, but the condition and real needs of our people, the ſeveral wants they are under. Now to make this as evident as I can in a few words: I ſay there is no ſort of people amongſtus whatſoever, but have need thereof more or leſs. I will for our preſent occaſion diſtinguiſh our people a little otherwiſe than I did towards the cloſe of my firſt Diſcourſe.

We may look on the *multitude* as made up of three ſorts of men; Of perſons ſettled in ſome profeſſion of Religion upon *rational* grounds and inducements, Of many more who are *zealous* for ſome particular profeſſion out of *paſſion* or *intereſt*, but in truth unſettled in any, and Of a far greater number who are indeed *indifferent* to all profeſſions, and if they are addicted to one more than another, it is onely becauſe the ſtream now carries them that way. To each of theſe it will appear upon conſideration, that our preſent Preaching is needful.

As to the firſt, thoſe I mean, who have

have addicted themſelves to ſome one profeſſion of Religion out of a rational choice; the choice theſe men have made, is either right or wrong. If they have choſen, and are ſerious in the true Religion (which ſort of men God knows we muſt lament, is far the feweſt) yet is Preaching in the ſenſe we take it, needful even to thoſe, *to ſtir up their pure minds by way of remembrance.* They do not need it may be ſo long Sermons, becauſe *they know theſe things*; but they do need frequent and moving ones, becauſe humane nature is ſubject to inadvertency, dulneſs, and forgetful ſecurity. The beſt men find reaſon to complain of dead hearts; & beſides, *he that thinketh he ſtandeth, let him take heed leaſt he fall.* Now Sermons are ſingular helps (and perhaps unparallelable) ones in theſe regards: they call home the rangeing ſoul, they fix the uncompoſed, they quicken the dull, they awaken and raiſe up thoſe who are faln, they ſtrengthen thoſe who ſtand, and call all to their watch. But if any on the other ſide are miſtaken in their choice, and ſeem rationally

2. pet: 3. 1.

ly ſettled in a bad way (as there are too many who can argue ſhrewdly for their errours) there is to theſe much more need of preaching, to unſettle them firſt, and then to fix them aright: which perhaps being a difficult and tedious Work, will require more labour, and longer and frequenter contention of diſcourſe, both in publick and private, than ſome who have not very freſh experience in theſe things will eaſily imagine.

Now for the ſecond ſort, men who have a paſſionate zeal for ſome one Religion, but are in truth ungrounded, and not well perſwaded of the truth of Religion in general: The preſent age abounds with ſuch. Intereſts and Religions are ſtrangely conjoined and interwoven by almoſt inextricable intanglements: and as mens intereſt leads them, they are zealous for this or that way or profeſſion, not indeed that it is Religion it ſelf, which at the bottome they are concern'd for, but their intereſt being complicate therewith, they cannot purſue the one, and omit the other, and therefore they intitle

their zeal & noiſe to the more commendable object, Religion. Now how great need there is, and what vaſt and importunate pains it will require to work theſe people to a ſenſe of God and ſpiritual goods, to bring them to prefer Faith and good Conſcience, before their *Nets* and their *Drags*, before their gain or craft, cannot eaſily be eſtimated: certainly a more effectual means than Preaching will not be found.

Laſtly, as to the indifferent multitude, who are alwayes of the Religion of the State, that theſe are not to be neglected, foraſmuch as God has undoubtedly many people amongſt them, which firſt or laſt may be brought in, and that there is no way of effecting this, ſo likely as Preaching, becauſe this being in faſhion, this they will frequent, who ſees not? Whatſoever ſome (who mind onely the outer part, & are content with the fair face of a good profeſſion & a civil honeſt life, as being Religion enough for the people) may according to the meaſure they have taken conceive, there is certainly as much need to convert men at preſent to hearty

ty ſeriouſneſs in Chriſtianity, to the intire belief and love of God, as there was at firſt to bring the World to the open owning, or admitting the Chriſtian profeſſion. And what means can be imagined, ſo likely to ſucceed as frequent and earneſt Sermons, calculated for the purpoſe? It is to be conſidered, the ages have ſtrangely altered, mens way of living is clear another thing, ſince the Apoſtles went about and taught from Houſe to Houſe. If we come now on ſuch an Errand, we ſhall not find men on Week-dayes at home, or not at leiſure: or if we do, they ſhall quarrel with us for thinking they are ſo bad as to need particular dealing with them, who yet would endure us patiently an hour or two on the Lords Day in publick. They will tell us they are as ſincere as their Neighbours, and need not to be ſingled out, as Chriſtians of a worſe allay: but when they are in the multitude, they will take quietly thoſe reprehenſions and aggravatives of their temper, which alone by themſelves they would ſtorm at.

These Conſiderations, I do profeſs, Sect. 13.

and ſome others which I could add, and would did I not judge enough already ſaid on this ſubject, do move me to plead, that on us who are called as above there lies at preſent a Neceſſity that we preach, and that as I have ſaid, we preach as often, as through our own abilities we *can*, and with regard to the other parts of our Duty, and the Laws of the Church, we *may*. Divine Commands and Precedents, the publick Opinion and Expectation of the people, the States and Needs of all ſorts of men amongſt us, require it at our hands: nor do I doubt, whatever ſome malevolous ſpirits, who muſt alwayes have ſomething to ſay againſt the Clergy, whether true or falſe, are apt to whiſper, touching the lazineſs of the Prieſts, as they in ſcorn ſtyle us, if account were taken, it would be found, that the generality of us are ready to declare the practice of what has been preſſed matter both of our Judgment and Reſolution: we are thus perſwaded, and we will thus do; and we doubt not but God will own us in ſo doing. But if there are any amongſt us, who are ap

apt to profeſs themſelves of a judgment different herein, I beſeech them not to be too free ſo to do, till they ſhall have ſeriouſly weighed the grand inonveniences which muſt in all probability enſue upon ſuch rarity of Preaching, as they ſeem to patroniſe, which is the main point now remaining of my Propoſals in the beginning.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Miſchiefs conſequent upon ſuppoſal Preaching *ſhould grow ſcarcer.*

Sect. 1. *The laſt Head.* *Suppoſed, that* Preaching *is more frequent amongſt us, than in our immediate Fore-fathers dayes.* Sect. 2. *The Reaſons, and Benefits thereof.* Sect. 3. *How far it may be ſuſpected* Preaching *may grow more ſcarce, or in diverſe places very much fail.* Sect. 4. *A Propoſal of two* general *Heads of* Woes *conſequent.* Sect. 5. *Strict* Obſervation *of the* Lords-day *keeps up the Face*

and Aw of Religion amongſt our people, and Two Sermons on the Lords-day, keep up that ſtrict Obſervation. Sect. 6. Afternoon-ſermons *on that Day no* Novelty, *or piece of* Puritaniſm. Sect. 7. *It were requiſite, that in all great Towns or larger Pariſhes, there were a Sermon each Holy day. How it may eaſily be done.* Sect. 8. *The* particular *miſchiefs conſequent upon more ſcarcity of Preaching. The firſt.* Sect. 9. *The ſecond and third,* Sect. 10. *The fourth.* Sect. 11. *The miſery of the Clergy in ſuch caſe.* Sect. 12. *The Concluſion, reflecting on the whole, addreſt both to* Preachers *and* People.

Sect. 1. WE are now, as our Laſt engagement, to view the Miſeries which would enſue, or which we have all reaſon to expect, upon ſuppoſal Preaching ſhould grow into more diſuſe, or in many places for the main be left off.

I take it for granted, that we have at preſent, all over the Land, much frequenter Sermons, than there were in

in the memory of our immediate fore-fathers, and perhaps in the memory of ſome now living. If it ſhould any where be otherwiſe, as the offence is great, ſo *Wo be to them by whom* ſuch *offences come.* The Canons indeed of 1603, do injoin all Beneficed Preachers reſident upon their Livings to preach one Sermon (we will ſuppoſe, *At leaſt*) every Sunday in the year; and beneficed men not reſident, to maintain a *licenſed Preacher* on their Benefice, if the worth thereof will bear it: but withall they ſuppoſe, that there were then in being, partly by reaſon of want of ſufficient maintenance, and perhaps through other miſchiefs, *beneficed men not preachers*, whom they obilge to read the *Homilies*; and they provide that the Sacraments ſhall not be refuſed from their hands. That it was better, in ſuch the penury of the Church, to make ſuch mean proviſion of Reading Miniſters, as they called them, than to ſuffer ſeveral Countrey-pariſhes, in large tracts, to be without any publick Prayers, Reading of the Scriptures, Sacraments, or any ſuch open Chriſtianity ſome years

Can. 45

Can. 47

Can. 46. 57.

years together (as frequent instances may be given many flocks were, while our Church was oppreſt) all the world will grant. That the Church would have made better proviſion, if ſhe could, or would the Revenues of thoſe Cures have born it, none that is not highly uncharitable can doubt, and the very words of the Canons in ſeveral places inſinuate. That the Homilies are ten thouſand times better than many Sermons, both in the late, and even in the preſent times, he muſt much forfeit his judgment who ſhall deny (though perhaps ſome could wiſh, that they being penned at ſuch a diſtance of time, and when Divines were neither ſo clear in many neceſſary points of controverſie, nor in the method of teaching as now they are, were reviſed, and accommodated more, not onely to the language of the age, but to the more approved and methodical way of preaching; and that alſo more were added thereto, as ſeems to have been the deſign of the Church.) But however theſe ſupplies of the want of Preaching were wholeſome, and ſuch, which while the

the people had, they could be under no *famine of the Word*, yet did they not ſuit with the humour of the multitude: they being moſt of them able to read themſelves, judged themſelves, in a manner, as able as ſuch Teachers, which onely read to them other mens Works; and ſo ran after Preachers whereever they could find them, and whatever they were. And which was the worſt of all, notwithſtanding thoſe injunctions in the Canons in expreſs terms, touching weekly Sermons, it is too ſure, that in the times alledged, there was not ſuch obſervance of thoſe Canons as there ought to have been. In ſome hundreds of private Countrey-pariſhes, they had not four Sermons a year: But now for the main, in all Pariſh-Churches, we have generally at leaſt one Sermon each Lords Day, and in the larger Pariſhes two; beſides others occaſionally on ſolemn Feſtivals, or the like dayes: which is more than thoſe Lawes preſcribed, and yet we have ſeen they preſcribed more than was practiſed.

The Reaſons or means introductive *S. 2.*

of this so great change I take to be, the prejudice (many times very unreasonable) and contempt, which lay against Not preaching (or meerly Reading) Ministers, much promoted by all those who were enemies to our Church; this being an excellent popular subject, and which would admirably palliate their imputations of *idleness* and *insufficiency* to the *Clergy*. These imputations, however with the greatest injustice charged upon some, yet too reasonably, for ought I know, on others, those, whom the Tumults and the Schism had engaged, prosecuting to the highest, together with another device which they made use of, where the forementioned ones would not serve, called Malignancy, violently voided a multitude of Benefices (those especially which were the fattest) and into all of them, which were either thus forced, or otherwise became void, none being preferr'd but pretended able and zealous Preachers, at least gifted men (who let them take what Text they would, were never out in their Sermon) preaching now swarmed: and this

this practice having prevailed a while, till more Gifted Brethren were bred, & came to set up for themselves, we had more Preachers (such as they were) than Churches, & in many places, almost as many Sermons as dayes. In this state of things, those few of the honest regular Clergy, that made a shift (though not without a great deal of persecution) to keep their Livings, observing the weapons used against them, doubled their diligence, and would not be out-preached by their adversaries, but were as frequently in the Pulpit on the Lords Day, and all due seasons, as any of them, and to much better purpose; they sowed *wheat*, while the others onely threw abroad *tares*. This also gave occasion to all the serious and pregnant Students in the Universities, who designed the Ministry, to bend their Divinity-studies towards preaching especially, which they saw now was to be much their frequenter Work, than it had been formerly their predecessors: And afterwards, when by degrees the whimsies of the age begun to evaporate, those lately so famed Gifts, being grown

common, were not so highly valued as at first, but men of learning & education came again here & there to have place & get into the Church, by which means the number of truly able and learned preachers increased much; nor was their industry and assiduity, in every part of their Function, inferiour to any mens. Thus silently went on our Churches cause, and we had, almost unperceived by our Adversaries, a numerous stock of excellent Preachers as frequently in the Pulpit as any. And at last, when upon the Restauration many places became void, by some mens refusing the regular Conditions, upon which they might hold them, the Fathers of the Church being most intimately sensible of the state of things, and of what influence Preaching was, preferred few or none (for I account not those, who were onely restored, preferr'd) to any eminent Cures, who were not ready Preachers, and careful enough to provide, that no advantage should be taken against the Church, for want of Sermons. On these occasions, and by these steps and methods, I conceive the

the preſent frequency of Preaching to have ſo much prevailed of late years amongſt us.

Now as to the benefit hereof, it has been and is, greater than perhaps I am able to give account of. Amongſt *the people*, it cannot be denied, but *Religious knowledge* is much encreaſed; and we both may, and muſt in charity, conclude that *ſerious Religion*, and the love of God and Heavenly things, have thereby taken root more largely in the hearts of multitudes. Beſides, our *Clergy* conſiſting in a manner wholely of Preachers, are much better able, on all occaſions, to *maintain diſcourſe* in ſome commendable ſort with *gainſayers* of all parties, & vindicate the Truth, the Church and Themſelves from the contempt and unjuſt cenſures they meet with, than formerly many of them were: and they are further put upon a kind of neceſſity of daily *improving* their abilities, with which I cannot conceive, but their *zeal* and reſolution for Godlineſs muſt alſo grow: For though a man may read over an Homily, without being affected therewith, yet I can-

not conceive, how any can well meditate, frame and deliver a Sermon (all which, at leaſt as to the ſenſe and ſubſtance thereof, he muſt have in his head, and retain for ſome time a full view and comprehenſion of) without concernment. I cannot therefore by any means conſent to thoſe men, who think frequency of Preaching (though Sermons ſhould be ſuppoſed for the general, but ſomewhat mean aud indifferent) a thing that might well enough be ſpared, or a ſuperfluous innovation of dangerous conſequence. The very *failure* of theſe *advantages* would be a weighty and *conſiderable evil*, were there no other that would enſue upon ſcarcity thereof.

Sect. 3. But will ſome ſay, to what purpoſe any diſcourſe of ſuch *inconveniencies* or evils? What *ſuſpicion* can there be of *ſcarcity* of preaching, when we have more preachers than we can provide for?

By way of anſwer hereto, I grant indeed, ſuch a ſcarcity of it, as was before the *Reformation*, or immediately upon it, I am perſwaded neither we nor

nor our Children ſhall ever ſee; nor, I hope, ever be able for the main to diſcern it to be leſs frequent than it is. But I obſerve, that there are *no Canons* in being, expreſly requiring Miniſters to preach ſo often as moſt of them do; and even thoſe very Canons abovementioned annex *no penalties* enforcing their injunctions: ſo that all, that any can incur for the neglect of them, is perhaps a reprehenſion from the Biſhop; and what variety of checques there lies upon the Biſhops power, how difficult it is for them (at leaſt how chargeable) even where they ſee reaſon to keep a troubleſome Incumbent long ſuſpended, much leſs to deprive him, when he really deſerves it, I am not unſenſible. Sure I am, whatever ſome men in their ignorance, or through miſinformation ſay, many things there are or may be, which can never be redreſt when occaſion ſhall requires, till the Biſhops have more power, and leſs controle, from the Common Law. Beſides, in ſeveral hundreds of Countrey pariſhes, how long may the Miniſter (if, which God forbid, he ſhould be faulty)

ty) neglect the Canons, before it ſhall come to the Biſhops ear, before he ſhall meet with a Church-warden that dare preſent him, *&c.* I cannot alſo but be ſenſible, that amongſt ſeveral thouſands of men, ſome may be impotent through age, ſickneſs or other accidents, and unwilling to pay a Subſtitute; and others may be downright in love with eaſe, averſe from ſtudy, more intent on the injoyment of their Revenues, than on the diſcharge of their Duty. We know not alſo what Epidemical evils, by us haply not foreſeen, but yet moſt juſtly deſerved, may be by God judicially inflicted on us, peſtilence, deſolation, or the like: What may be the unhappy conſequences of theſe, and ſo how far deſtitute any places may be of preaching, none can define.

I would not have my diſcourſe ſo underſtood, as if I did *ominate*, or ſo much as ſuſpect any ſuch event: I again ſay, I both truſt and pray, no ſuch thing may ever come to paſs. I deſire onely & deſign, on one hand, to perſwade our *people* more to prize their mercies, and

and better improve them; and on the other, to quicken in men of our *Function* that inward ſenſe, which I preſume them to have, of what weighty moment their digence in preaching is, that none may ever be found negligent therein.

To come then cloſer to the main point: However ſlighty opinion ſome may have of preaching, who are cloi'd with abundance, and will long admire nothing but what is rare, the change would ſoon appear diſmal, were *Teachers removed into corners*, or thoſe living Oracles by any other means withdrawn. It muſt needs be acknowledged, our *people* have been ſo bred and uſed to preaching, that upon the ſcarcity or failure thereof, their ſouls would really languiſh, and ſpiritually decay, if not be ſoon perverted. But none can eaſily imagin any ſuch *plague* could befal the *people*, without the *guilt* of the *Clergy*; except we ſhould all be fatally taken off, which is a preſumption I ſee not how any can make. No juncture of affairs can I ſuppoſe, which would juſtifie our holding our peace, or declining this part of our Of- *Sect. 4.*

fice; no *time* so *Evil*, wherein, in this kind, we may *keep silence*. We are *set* as *Watchmen*, and we must *declare* what we see. St. *Paul's Wo* will reach us else in our measure. But these are yet generals: we will consider particularly the *Woes*, which, in all probability, would attend both the *people* and the *Pastours* respectively, upon supposal preaching should become neglected, or much scarcer than it is; and we will begin with the *peoples* share.

Isai: 21. 6.

Sect. 5. I lay here for a foundation, that That which keeps the face of Religion more bright and glorious in our *English* Church, than perhaps in any other, is very much our *stricter observation of the Lords Day*, and our *frequenter preaching* thereon, than possibly is usual in Forreign Churches. We come not from the Church on *Sundayes* (and haply from the Communion too) to the Market, nor buy there our dinners and go then to eat them in the next Tavern we can get them drest in. At least on this Day (generally) we keep home and see (most of us) that our Families, do so too. And, as from Church

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we go gravely home to our private and modeſt neceſſary refreſhments, ſo, after them, ſoberly to Church again. I know indeed there are ſome, no great friends to this practice, and think ſuch Obſervation *Judaiſm*, or *Puritaniſm*, or of ſome ſuch ſtamp. I crave leave to diſtinguiſh betwixt a *Jewiſh Sabbath*, and a *Chriſtian Feaſt*, ſuch as the Lords Day is: If by the Laws of the Chriſtian Church, a Day be dedicated to the Lord, let him have it: Let us ceaſe thereon from *doing our own works, and finding our own* ſenſual *pleaſures*. Chriſtian Feaſting lies not in ſports and ſenſual mirth. *He that keepeth a day, let him keep it to the Lord*, and not *take* what the Laws of the Chriſtian Church from the beginning have *hallowed*, and *give it to dogs*. It would be too far out of my way to vindicate the Holy obſervation of the Lords Day; onely becauſe the *giving all of it*, which may be ſpared from bodily neceſſities and modeſt or civil conveniencies, unto God, i by ſome look't upon as a Novelty, give r leave to ſet down one paſſage of S. *Chryſoſtom*'s, & another of St. *Auguſtin*'s ſpeaki

their ſenſe in this caſe. τεθήτω ἑαυτοῖς νόμος ἀκίνητος, &c. "Let us, ſaith the firſt, ſet "this law unto our ſelves as inviolable, "nor to our ſelves onely, but to our "wives and children, to ſpend this "one Day of the Week, on which we "aſſemble to hear the Word of God, "wholely in the Meditation of "thoſe things which are ſaid. He argues the reaſonableneſs hereof from ſuch practices as theſe: If men, who go into a *Bath*, abſtain that day from ſeveral meetings and affairs, leaſt they ſhou'd loſe the *Benefit of the Bath*, how much more on this Day ought we to forbear common matters, leſt we blaſt thereby all the good which may be gained by our attendance on Spirituals? And St. *Auſtin* in the concluſion of a Sermon of his on a certain Lords Day, has this Exhortation. *Nos autem Fratres, quoniam paſti ſumus epulis ſalutaribus, quæ reſtant agamus, ut Diem Dominicam ſolenniter impleamus gaudiis ſpiritualibus.* "Now "Brethren, ſeeing we have been fed with this ſaving Food, let us proceed to what duties remain, that we may

Homil. 5. in Math

Vid. Plura ibid. et in Homil. de Electionſyn: in Sanctos Tom. 4.

Tract.

may ſolemnly fill up the Lords-day with ſpiritual joyes. I will here add no more, becauſe I ſhall preſently have occaſion to produce other paſſages, the conſequents of which will reach this point. At preſent, that which I am concern'd for is this, that this Obſervation of the Lords Day mainly keeps up the reverence, aw, and ſpiritual Grandieur of Religion amongſt us; and the reaſon I give for it is, that I can aſſign nothing, which we have, that is not common to us with our Neighbours, or in which, perhaps, we are not outdone by them, whereto I can aſcribe this effect, that the generality of our people, of all ages, ſexes and conditions, are more religiouſly given, and ſeem to have a greater ſenſe of Religion, than is ſaid other Nations have, ſave our more religious keeping of this day. Have we the Scriptures? ſo have they. Have we prayers in our Mother-tongue? So have all the Reformed Churches. Have we Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline? Thoſe Churches in their way are as ſtrict, or ſtricter than our ſelves. Is there ſomething of outward decency, beauty and

glory in our publick Worſhip? As to ſtate, how far are we outdone by the Papiſts! I muſt therefore attribute this effect to no other Cauſe. Now *I* ſay further, 'Tis our Sermons that keep up the obſervation of the Lords-day. We can get people to Church twice on the day, and keep them there too, and have full Congregations, if we ſo often preach diligently to them: we ſhould not, did we do otherwiſe. Some will be on *Afternoons* in the *Alehonſe* or *Taverns*, others at publick *games* and *ſports*, others otherwiſe imploied, or not imploied, if we be not in the *Pulpit*: not one in twenty, who now come duly to Church, would then be there.

Sect. 6. But I am not ignorant, that this practice of the *Afternoon Sermons* on the Lords-day, lies under no good repute with ſome men, who pretend to be great friends, and ſons too, of our Church. The beſt name they can give it is, a *Novelty*, introduced by *Engliſh puritan Overdoo's*. I heartily grieve, if indignation will ſuffer me, when I hear ſuch language, eſpecially from men that

that call themſelves *Proteſtants*, and pretend not onely *Devotion* and *Religion* to be dear to them, but that they have ſearched *Antiquity*, and find no foot-ſteps of this uſe there, nor any place for the Afternoon-Sermon in any Antient, or even in our Preſent Liturgies. I will endeavour with all temper, and I promiſe with the greateſt ſincerity, to wipe off the Aſperſion in a few words,

I muſt acknowledge, in the firſt ſetting out of Chriſtianity, we are not able to obſerve this practice; for they aſſembled for Divine Worſhip every day, and communicated too: nor can we think, their Communions were without Exhortations, as well as Prayers; they preached then poſſibly every day. And when their more ſolemn Aſſemblies came to be fixt, as ſoon they were, chiefly on the Lords-day (*Acts XX*, 7.) it would ſeem they continued from the time of their meeting, till the Evening, or ſometimes (according as they met) till the Break of day, or other occaſion, diſſolved them, no one going home to eat, and then re-

returning to the Assembly; for that all generally brought somewhat with them, and a common Table or Meal was an appendance of the Lords Supper. Onely I observe St. *Chrysostome* out of the Records of these dayes, urging St. *Paul*'s injunction to *Timothy* (the Fathers words I shall set down presently more at large) *Be instant in season and out of season, &c.* and his practice in *continuing his speech untill midnight*, in the place of the *Acts* last mentioned, for the justifying his own preaching in the *Afternoon* also. But when the times of persecution were well blown over, and the Church injoyed settlement and leisure, in the Homilies of diverse of the antient Fathers, we have plentiful testimonies that they preached in the Afternoons, as well as in the Mornings. *Gaudentius* Bishop of *Brescia* in the Archbishoprick of *Milan*, about the year 390, mentions his preaching *Twice* on *Easter-Eve* touching the Pass-over. But that it was much more usual for them to preach twice on the Lords-day, is evident from St. *Austin* in sundry places. For in.

Homil. X in Genes. sub init.

Tract. 4. de Pasch: Biblioth patr. Tom. 2.

inſtance, The place laſt produced out of him may very reaſonably be interpreted to intimate thus much: But in other places we may find him moſt expreſs. Preaching on a certain day *twice* on the *LXXXVIII.* Pſalm, he concludes his Morning-ſermon thus. *Quod reſtat ſi placet ſervemus, quia longus eſt Pſalmus, &c.* "Let us for the preſent re-"ſerve the reſt, if it pleaſe you; for "that the Pſalm is ſomewhat long, and "I am yet to ſpeak again to you in the "name of Chriſt. Refreſh your "ſtrength, I do not ſay, the ſtrength "of your minds, for I ſee in mind you "are indefatigable; but as to the ſer-"vants of your mind, that your bo-"dies may be able to indure in their at-"tendance. Refreſh your ſelves, I "ſay, and being refreſht, return after "Dinner. And again in his next Sermon he begins thus. *Ad reliqua Pſalmi, de quo in Matutino locuti ſumus, animum attendite.* "Be pleaſed to attend now "to the Remains of the Pſalm, of "which we ſpoke in the Morning. In his laſt *Tome* alſo, amongſt the *Sermones de Tempore*, we ſhall find very ma-

ny of them, which were for the same Lords-day, to be onely contiuuations one of the other, which at a years distance would have been very strange; wherefore those Sermons not being all St. *Austin*'s, as we have already said, it is apparent, this was not onely his practice, but the practice of diverse others of the Preaching *Latine* Fathers, & thing then usuall.

As to the *Greek* Fathers, I will onely speak the practice of the greatest Preacher of them, St. *Chrysostome*. His tenth Homily on *Genesis* has this title: Προτροπὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐρυθριῶντας μετὰ τὸ ἔτιαπν, *&c.* "An Exhortation to those who were "ashamed to come to the Sermon after "Dinner, or after Meal, *&c.* It seems by this and diverse other Homiles of his, many of his people made a considerable scruple, whether it were lawful to come to Church, not *fasting*, and by this meanes it came to pass, Ἐλάττων ἡμῖν ὁ σύλλογος he had *a lesser Congregation, and a thinner Audience*, in the Afternoon, than in the Forenoon. Now the design of the former part of this Sermon is, to remove from them this

this ſcruple, and to this purpoſe he ſhews them the conſiſtency of *Bodily and Spiritual Food*, and "That all times "of the day are ſeaſonable enough for "ſpiritual inſtruction. What do I ſay (ſaith he) "All times of the day? "No, not the coming on of the night "makes this unſeaſonable: and then he urges the paſſages of St. *Paul* before mentioned, adding ὁ νήφων ἀκριβὴς καὶ ἀνιέρωτος &c. "An attentive or ſober auditour, "though he has dined, is fit for ſpiri-"tual Doctrine. In his firſt Homily *De Lazaro mendico*, he proſecutes the ſame ſubject again, but with more earneſtneſs, inveighing againſt them who condemned his uſeage of preaching after Dinner, ὡς καινὸν καὶ παράδοξον συνήθειαν, as *a new and uncouth cuſtome*, and tells them he has much more reaſon to condemn *that wicked cuſtome which had then prevailed, that they roſe from table to ſleep.* So that it ſeems, this Father rather looked upon it as a wicked Cuſtome, not to preach in the Afternoon; & by his saying, this wicked Cuſtome *had then with ſome prevailed*, he intimates it had been otherwiſe formerly. In the ſame Ho-

mily, he juſtifies his practice from Chriſts Preaching to the multitude, after his having fed them miraculouſly with the *loaves*. "Our Lord, ſaith he, "did not fill their bellies to exceſs and "gluttony, but when he had ſatisfied "them as far as neceſſity required, he "led them to ſpiritual food. So, ſaith he, "let us do, and accuſtome our "ſelves thus to take our meat. Elſe-
Ad pop: Anti-och: *Homil.* 9. where he again defends this his practice from our Lords long Sermon to his Diſciples after his laſt Supper: and adds, "that where people uſe to come to the "Afternoon-ſermon, it will make them "feed ſoberly, whether they will or no. In his next Homily, he highly
Homil: 10. commends the people for coming to Church on the Afternoon in a full audience. And to conclude what I ſhall ſay out of this great Father, in his 28th. Homily *ad pop. Antiochen.* He appeals to his Auditours themſelves "in which "of theſe two they conceived they "did better? when, the Morning-ſermon "being over, they went from the Church "to their Table, & thence roſe to ſleep, "or when after Dinner, they came again

"to

"to hear the Divine Oracles?] *&c.* Now that hereby he meant Sermons, is plain, becauſe all theſe are paſſages out of Afternoon-ſermons preached by him. Upon the whole then it is evident, that it was the practice of the Primitive Church, to ſpend the Lords-Day wholely, as far as was conſiſtent with neceſſities and honeſt conveniencies, in Holy Exerciſes; and particularly, that at leaſt in Cities and greater Churches, it was uſual that the Paſtours thereof preached on that Day, Forenoon and Afternoon.

I have already ſaid, that as the *Popiſh Maſs*, and other appendant corruptions *prevailed* in the Church, *Preaching* grew much *out of date*. What was the effect hereof, I need produce no other witneſſes but the *Romiſh* Writers themſelves. To omit the black Characters of Ignorance and Wickedneſs, which both *Bellarmin* & *Baronius* give of the Tenth Age after Chriſt, & the times thereabout, when there was little or no Preaching in moſt places, of the *Weſtern* Church at leaſt, I will onely ſet down a ſtory which *Matthew* of *Paris* reports

De Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 12 A. m. To 10. nu. 980.

about the year 1072, of a Ghost which appeared to his freind & shewed written in his "hand Letters, as sent from "Hell, in which Satan and all his Crew, "gave their humble service and thanks "to the whole Ecclesiastical Order, "that as in nothing they were wanting "to their own pleasures, so [*Tantum "numerum subditarum sibi animarum* suæ "prædicationis incuria *paterentur ad in-* "*fernum descendere, quantum secula an-* "*teacta nunquam viderint.*] they suffe- "red so great a number of souls to fall "headlong to Hell, through their *ne-* "*glect of Preaching*, as no former ages "had ever sent thither.

M. P. Hist: ad ann. 1072.

When afterward, in some process of time, it pleased God to raise up Preachers, knowledge soon increased, and in a few Ages, the *Reformation* gradually came on, which indeed no one thing more promoted than *frequent preaching*. He, who mainly broke the ice, the undaunted *Martin Luther*, was a constant Preacher, and very far from thinking Afternoon-Sermons either *Novel* or unnecessary. Hear him deliberating declaring his thoughts in this case

case to *Nicolas Hausman* a *German* Bishop, & a freind to the Reformation. *Instituendæ sunt Lectiones quotidianæ, altera mane in Novo vel Veteri Testamento, altera Vesperi in altero Testamento, cum explanatione vernacula. Hunc ritum esse antiquum probat & res & vocabulum.* "We must set up, saith he, Daily Lessons, one in the Morning out of the "Old or New Testament, another in "the Evening out of the other Testament, with an Exposition thereon in "our Mother-tongue. That this use-"age is *Antient*, both the thing it self "and the name declare. Such indeed was, as we have seen, the Antient Fathers great way of Preaching, an Explication on the Scriptures that day read, and such was *Luther*'s generally. And according to these his advices, was his own practice, as is apparent by his Sermons extant, many of which are expressly inscribed (*ante Prandium*) made Before-noon, others on the same day (*A Prandio*) Afternoon.

In Præf. adform. Miss. pro. Ecc. Wit: tenb. Tom: 2.

Luth: Concion. Dieb: Dom. & Festis.

These Authorities both of the Antient Fathers, and of this great Reformer, may suffice to convince the world, that

that Preaching Forenoon and Afternoon is a practice much elder than the *Engliſh Puritans*.

Now as to that demand, Where ſhall we find *a place in* any *Liturgies* for the *After noon-Sermon* to come in? I anſwer, Where did theſe *Fathers* find it? It is ſure they preached publickly in the Afternoon-Aſſemblies. But ſuppoſe it had no place at all *in the body* of any Liturgies, ſuppoſe it immediately *ſucceeded* the Evening-Office, as commonly it does in our preſent uſe, where is the inconvenience or *irregularity*? It is not at all repugnant unto our *Act of Uniformity*. But if any will have a place for it in the Liturgy, why may it not properly enough come in after the *ſecond Leſſon*? The Cuſtome we have ſeen of old was, to handle ſome part of what had been read; and when more naturally, than immediately after the reading or Leſſons? Our Church preſcribes that to be the ſeaſon for Catechiſing Youth: We will ſuppoſe, that Catechiſing is not a bare hearing Children repeat the words of the Catechiſm, but explaining, aſſerting and

applying the Doctrine thereof in a plain and familiar manner. Suppoſe our Afternoon-Sermons in our Pariſh-Churches ſuch (as is moſt fit they ſhould be) and do we not find a proper room for them in our preſent Liturgy? Such handling any Catechetical point, whether matter of Faith or Practice, may be done with the ſame facility in the Pulpit, as in the Desk, and with a Text preſixt (as the manner of our Sermons in the preſent Age is) as well as without one; and then who will not call it a Sermon? I will therefore now conclude Afternoon-Sermons not onely *Antient*, but as they may be managed, ſtrictly enough *Regular* according to the Order of our preſent Church.

Sect. 7. Beſides ſuch frequent Sermons on the Lords Day, it is apparent to any one who reads the Antient Fathers, that there was ſeldome or never any Holyday paſt without a Sermon, as neither does there any uſually at preſent amongſt us in our Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, or even in our Univerſities. And as for *Luther*'s part, we ſhall find him preaching Twice on ſundry Holy-days. Vid: Con. in die.

Circumcision. Christ. & in Epiphan. &c.

I do not at all press that, because it does not seem so fully to comport with a certain oblique design of our Festivals, the honest recreation of several sorts of people thereon. But the irregularity of one Sermon every Festival, none can assert; except haply they should say, such Parochial Minister, who does it in his Parish-Church, would be singular; which I could easily answer by saying, I am sorry for it. The second Service, which we know is as particularly prescribed for all Holy-days, as for all Sundayes, in the year, in the Rubrick after the *Nicene* Creed supposes the intervention of a *Sermon, or one of the Homilies already set forth, or to be set forth by Authority.*

The *difficulty* of reading *Homilies* would be none at all: and if any think there are too few, they ought first to use these, till they are become familiar or trite (which I am sure now they are not to our people) before they complain of the want of new ones. For my own part, I could most gladly hear a *Partition* out of *The whole Duty of man*, distinctly read on Holy-days in our Parish-

riſh-Churches, were it recommended by Authority; & it would ſavour of more ingenuity than ſome mens clancular borrowing others Sermons. That incomparable book entreating in each partition uſually of ſome Chriſtian Virtue (& the Saints being exemplary in all virtues) it, would not be unfit intertainment for the people on Saints daies; and I doubt not but the benefit thereof in Publick would be no leſſe to the generality, than thouſands, not onely perſons but families, have found it in private.

The Difficulty of provideing *Sermons* ſo often would indeed be conſiderable, but it might eaſily be alleviated, in Great-townes by a *Combination* or *Rota* of the Neighbouring Clergy, each takeing his turn in courſe, as it is amongſt the *Maſters* in our Univerſities. Nor does this ſeem to me at all a Violation of the *LXXIId* Canon, for here is ſuppoſed no new ſolemnity appointed, onely the law is obſerved: and as to ſuch Combinations as ſuggeſted, how eaſily may the Approbation of the Dioceſan be had thereto? Further, it is not to be forgotten that there are weekly Lectures

ſettled in ſeveral Market-towns,, which might be well adjourned to the Holy day that falls in the week.

Now as to the benefit, in all probability it would be very great: Beſides the uſuall advantages of Sermons generally, this would conciliate ſome more *regard to Feſtivalls*, and bring people to the Church thereon: this might alſo be improved to *inſtruct* them in the *particular deſigns* of our *Feſtivalls* reſpectively, the obſervation whereof they have many of them now little kindneſſe for, becauſe they underſtand not the reaſon of: This would alſo be a ground of *familiarity* and *frequent converſe* between the *Clergy*, ſo that they would be mutually better by one anothers excellencies: This laſtly would ſtop the mouth of ſome, who admired much the *diligence* and *Gifts* of their *Lecturers*. I am not ignorant, that ſuch Aſſociations may be abuſed, or by unquiet ſpirits turned to evill purpoſes but ſo may any thing, and ſuch ſpirits will find waies, to hatch and communicate their miſchiefe, more private & ſo more dangerous than this would be; where-

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in, ſupoſeing there be one or two ſober grave, peaceable, prudent men in the Combination (as there will, or may, be certainly more) no matter of ſuſpicious or evill conſequence can be going on, but it will be checkt, repreſt, or elſe diſcovered to thoſe whom it concerns to know it. But I beg pardon for this digreſſion, which yet is not much from my main deſign of defending and promoteing the *Regular Frequency of Preaching*.

To return then: I conceive it apparent by what has been above ſaid, that our ſtricter obſervation of the Lords day is the main thing which amongſt the multitude keps up the face of Religion (that is a fair, ſerious, awfull profeſſion of it) and the Afternoon-Sermons I ſay maintaine ſuch the obſervation of the Lords day. Now of how fatall conſequence it would be to Religion it ſelf, and the Reall *Power of Godlineſs*, to have this its outward face Eclipſt, may hence be eſtimated, that this is the great meanes which firſt ingenerates hearty Religion in us all. I do not deny but there are ſome dormant Sect. 8.

principles of Religion in natural reaſon, but theſe require to be excited and formed by Tradition; and the more ſolemn and ſerious we ſee the generality of men to be in the profeſſion of that Faith, which they deliver to us, the more authority ſuch Tradition has. Thus in plain terms ſtands the caſe; While we are children, and yet ignorant what Religion meanes, we are carried to the places of publick worſhip to praiers and Sermons as to things of an Holy, awfull, tremendons nature, and of the greateſt concernment: And the oftener we ſee people at theſe ſacred publick offices, and the more ſerious we apprehend them therein, the more affected we, while little, are therewith: And hereby we are prepared with more reverence to regard thoſe ſmall notices of the Chriſtian doctrine, which we are then able to take in. Afterwards, as by degrees our knowledge and reall conviction of conſcience encreaſes, ſo we come to a true inward ſenſe of Religion, and thereby, to the hearty practice of it: So that it is evident, deſtroy this the Outward

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aw and Face of Religion, and you proportionably deſtroy the main *Introductive principle* of the real beliefe of Religion. And I have ſaid, as preaching does decay this will decay. This is the Firſt particular evill, that would enſue upon the ſuppoſeal put; and I may ſay, there needs no more.

But from hence would follow, a very publick if not generall falling off of our people, both from our Church and from Religion it ſelf. If *Preachers* ſhould *fail*, *Seducers* would not: there are whole ſholes of them ready to be thrown in upon us on a ſudden, beſides that we are overſtockt on both hands already. Sect. 9.

Firſt, multitudes would ſoon be drawn off by the *Faſcinations* of the *Romiſh Charmers*. Take away our preaching and the beſt ſhew carries it. *Ad Populum Phaleras*. And if it once come to outward Pomp, as already ſaid, they outdoe us a thouſand: Their rich Altars, their glittering Veſtments, their pretty Images, their precious Reliques, their pompous Proceſſions, the Mortified lookes of many of their Monaſticks, with their whole State, that I call it not

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Pageantry of Religon, will ſoon inveigle the multitude, which as I have above complained are too much indifferent to all Religions, onely one they muſt have.

Secondly, there are another ſort of Enemies to our Church on the other hand: We have had too ſad experience that *Sedition* and *Rebellion* are as the ſin of *Witchraft* in another ſenſe than we ordinarily interpret that ſpeech: they moſt unreaſonably and unaccountably charm and faſcinate the multitude; and there are not a few men of the old Blade, of a kind of odd Church Militant, who would be ſure to ſet up for preachers, and draw away all thoſe after them, who out of paſſion & not out of Reaſon are zealous againſt Popery.

I may ſafely ſay, under God, next to our Lawes (for which God be bleſſed) and our King who maintains the Laws (and whom God long preſerve to us) there is nothing hinders more the prevalency of theſe two Extremes, from ſwallowing up in a manner our Church, than does our frequent Preaching. This

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now *letteth* and *will let*, and I hope will never be *taken out of the way*.

Laſtly, that there is a great deal of Atheiſm not onely ſecretly lodged in mens hearts, but overflowing in the mouths of many, is a ſore, but juſt complaint. We ſhall frequently meet with perſons, who will plainly ſpeak it out, that Religion is onely a Politicall Intrigue, which cunning men deviſed, and fooles believe, and who will argue proportionably againſt the very principles of faith: and this not onely *en paſſant*, for proof and oſtentation of their wits ſome times, and to run down people, whom they judge ſo weak as to be concerned heartily for Religion, but deſignedly and with ſeriouſneſſe in other companies, to make proſelytes. And ſuch diſcourſes are too much *in mode* at preſent, more countenanced than they ought to be, or, which is much the ſame, ſtarted and promoted by ſome ſort of men for their diverſion, and the entertainment of their company. Now there is nothing, which gives a greater check to this growing evill, which really more counter-works theſe irreligious machinations, than our

frequent preaching does. We ſhould ſoon ſee what a dreadfull progreſſe Atheiſm would make, if while its Patrons preach at every table, where they may be bold, or as they call it *pleaſant*, our Miniſters held their tongue in the Pulpit, or came not ſo often thither.

Some haply may ſay to confront this ſuggeſtion, Every man is not qualified for an Atheiſt, that is, has not leiſure, eſtate, authority, impudence enough (for little wit or education God knows will ſuffice) to ſet up or undertake the patronage of Irreligion. Be it ſo; but too many have, and many more venture at it: So that I may ſafely ſay, were the doctrines or principles of Atheiſm ſufferd to go without thoſe publick contradictions and confutations which ſtill, as occaſion ſerves and our diſcourſes lead us, they receive from the pulpit, the as yet uninfected part of our people, would ſoon be drawn in, and the moſt profane Impiety inſenſibly get an uncontroleable head.

It may be ſaid perhaps, Popery would hinder this, as well as Proteſtants preaching; Let but any Religion be in fa-

faſhion, and Atheiſm can never prevaile. I anſwere, Popery is indeed a very faſhionable, I mean, outwardly a very ſplendid, ſpecious and formal Religion: but how has it hindered the growth of Atheiſm in *Italy* the very centre of Popery? What do we mean by the uſual diverb, the *Italian* Religion?

To conclude then this head: Theſe four grand Evills, A greater *Decay* of the outward face & aw of Religion, A Falling off of our people on the one hand to *Popiſh ſuperſtion on* the other to *ſeditions on velties, giddineſs, confuſion & every evill Work*, & laſtly, of a multitude to down right *Atheiſm*, would ſuddenly & certainly enſue, ſhould frequent Preaching fail.

As to the Miſeries, which would befall the Clergy, ſhould they neglect this part of their office, & this their neglect be the cauſe of general want of preaching; Firſt, I cannot be ſo uncharitable to my brethren, as to think this will ever come to paſs, or force my ſelf to imagin they are not deeply ſenſible of the Direfull conſequences thence to themſelves. I will not therefore be ſo vain as to expatiate on this head, as if I either ſuſpected Sect. 11

them to want information, or judged my self able to instruct them. It must be presumed, we all know the *Wo* that attends such servants, whom our Lord *at his coming* shall find unfaithful; *the blood* of those who perish *will be required* at their hands, and besides that, their *own blood* will be *upon their own heads*. But before that time, we cannot, in this case, but expect an earlier share of *Temporal Wo* also to befall us. It is scarce possible, generally more *disoblige* our Neighbours, than by *neglecting* them; and amongst all neglects, as there is none more publick and apter to be taken notice of by all sorts, than our Neglect of Preaching, so there is none ordinarily likely to move higher & more notorious resentment. Now the *infelicity* of liveing in a parish, and haveing the charge of a flock, where a man is *not beloved*, is so great, that I do not know, whether any Temporal misery be not to be chosen rather than it: for besides the perpetual *grateing inquietudes* of such a life, the troubles such Minister shall be imbroiled in, in getting those small dues on which he is to subsist,

ſubſiſt, and a thouſand like perlexive incidents, he is almoſt under a neceſſity of being *unſerviceable* to the Souls of his people. Further, we have heard much of the *Contempt of the Clergy*, and many vain and frivolous cauſes thereof aſſigned: I may truly name one point, that would bring more contempt and ſcorn upon us, than perhaps all other put together, and that is, Let us be *Idle*, or which with the people is the ſame, let us be *ſilent* or remit of out conſtant Preaching. But God be thanked this is imputable to very few, and I hope never will be to many, of us.

I have thus, as in a draught, preſented the *Evills*, which would forthwith, Sect. 12
in all probability, enſue, ſuppoſeing ſuch Scarity of preaching as is not impoſſible, and as ſome men ſeem to patroniſe. I have alſo, with *very* great Freedome and Sincerity, aſſerted the *Authority of our Preaching*, which though it be not equall to that of the Apoſtles and of the Inſpired age, yet it is as great as the preſent ſtate of Chriſtianity will admit: Greater it cannot be, except men ſhould be again called, or ſent, by

immediate voice from Heaven, and impowered by Miraculous inſpiration: It is really ſuch an Authority, which they have not, who pretend to that *Neceſſity of Preaching laid upon* them, which indeed does *ly* upon *Us*. *Our Office* is of *Divine inſtitution*, and deſigned to be of *perpetuity*, or of the ſame duration with the world: The *power* of it is *regularly conveyed* to us by thoſe, who have had it in an *uninterrupted ſucceſſion* from Chriſt and his Apoſtles: and as to our actual *Miniſtry*, it is not without the ſpecial *conduct* and concurrence of the *Holy Ghoſt*. Finally, as to the various *Modes* there have been of preaching in the World, we are not, bleſſed be God, much behind any of the Ordinary ages of the Church, and (if it may be ſpoken without offence) we are ſuperiour to many. What I have to adde by way of concluſion, I ſhall addreſſe, with an humble but paſſionate concernment, to *Preachers and People*.

As to us of the *Clergy*, I doubt not but generally we can with truth and juſtice profeſs touching our ſelves, before God and Men, in the words of St. *Paul*, that

that Seeing *We have this miniſtry, as we have received mercy, we faint not: But we have renounced the hidden things of diſhoneſty, not walking in craftineſs, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifeſtation of the truth commending our ſelves to every mans conſcience in the ſight of God.* This then being our caſe, if we meet with diſcouragements, general or particular, let us with all prudence indeavour to remove them; and if we cannot, yet ſetting before our eyes the *Recompence of reward*, and *Looking unto Jeſus*, who has ſet us on work and promiſed *to be with us to the end of the world*, *Let us ſtirr up the gift of God which is within us*, and

I. Cor: IV, 1, 2.

—*Contra audentius ire*, onely taken courage from our difficulties. What ever comes let us *ſpeak and not be ſilent:* A better cauſe than ours never can be, & we are moſt unworthy to be ingaged in it, if we can by any meanes be prevailed with to be wanting to it. *Jacta eſt Alea*, we have paſt *Rubicon*, ther's no ſetting a foot backward. Remember we him, who vowed, *His Soul ſhould have no pleaſure in them who draw back.*

There

There can be no time wherein *Preaching will not be in Seaſon or out of Seaſon*; I might ſay, ſcarce any time, in which ſome Preaching or other is not *in* ſeaſon: where publicke Preaching is not opportune, private may be. In all therefore let us be *Inſtant*, let us endeavour by the plaineſt prudent dealing in all waies, by the ſtrongeſt and moſt moveing arguments we can deviſe, to get within the hearts and conſciences of men. If frequency of Preaching be a work ſo exceedinglaborious to any of us, let us contrive with our ſelves by what methods we may alleviate or facilitate it, and do what lies in our power thereto. Particularly, let us ſtudy and uſe the eaſieſt and moſt familiar courſe. He was no mean nor unſucceſsful Preacher who adviſed *Optimi ad vulgus hi ſunt concionatores, qui trivialiter, Populariter & ſimpliciſſinè docent.* "Thoſe are the "beſt preachers to the common people "who preach in a mean, vulgar and moſt plain way. The condeſcending to ſuch a courſe, would much eaſe many mens work as to themſelves, and render their labours too more ſerviceable

Luther. apud Melch: Adam. in vit.

to

to their people. Let our Arguments have life and energy in them, be such as are apt to create concernment, and it little matters how plain our Language or stile shall be: that which is most natural is certainly most usefull, and to all but Fops and Fantastickes most acceptable. There may be I confess great difference of Auditories, and it is most reasonable that accordingly we consult them; but we are to consider, there are few or no Auditories, which consist not of the Mixed multitude: he therefore that has spoken to the capacity of the meanest, has in all probability been understood, in things so spoken, by every one that heard him; and then it is hardly possible, but the generality are bettered. Truth and Godliness can scarce appear in so plain a dress, but they will ever be Venerable. The fastidious spirits, as we may hope they are far the fewest, so we are sure they are unfittest for the Kingdom of Heaven; wherefore while we consult their provision, we must not starve the *Children of the Kingdom*. I will say no more on this subject: The Lord give

us *wiſdome* and *ſtedfaſt reſolution*, and then our Preaching will neither be *unfruitful* to any, nor *infrequent*.

What I would beſeech of ſuch *Hearers*, to whom theſe Papers ſhall come, is alſo nothing but what they muſt acknowledge my Diſcourſe enforces; Namely, that though they cannot come to our Sermons as to inſpired propheſyings, (for we are not, we pretend not our ſelves to be infallible living-Oracles) yet that they would look upon the Chriſtian Doctrine in our mouths to have more authority, than if taught by common and uncommiſſioned, that I ſay not alſo, as too often it comes to paſs, unletter'd men. For they muſt allow us to be perſons ſent, and authoriſed by God in an ordinary way; to be their Teachers, and the Guides of their Conſciences: and then, if God follow his own inſtitution with his bleſſing, if he forget not or neglect his own promiſe, we muſt have uſually more of the concurrent aſſiſtance and conduct of the Holy Ghoſt in what we teach, than other perſons who are not alike called to the Office. In proportion here-

to,

to, there are three or four Particulars which I would paſſionately preſs upon our people, aud that as they ever expect any good by our Miniſtry, and as they would not have our labours riſe up in judgment to inhance their everlaſting woes. (1.) That they would alwaies come to our Sermons with ſerious and *ſingle* hearts, not out of Cuſtome, Curioſity, or deſign of *Cenſure*, Cavil or the like, but with an honeſt intention, and ſincere deſire, either to learn what they know not, or (if they conceive themſelves to know enough) to be put in mind, and quickened in the ſenſe of what they know. (2.) That they will not ſatisfie themſelves with the meer having heard a Sermon, and account that Religion enough for one day, though they neither heeded, nor, it may be, underſtood five ſentences of it. This has been a great Evil of late years; much heard, and nothing applied or digeſted. People really have looked upon themſelves ſo much the holyer, by how many more Sermons they heard, as ſome I ſay do for hearing a greater number of Maſ-

ſes. Let us beware of this madneſs, & every one take cloſely & meekly home to himſelf, what belongs to him for his good. Reflect not on others, as thus and thus concern'd in the things which are ſpoken, nor on the Preacher, as too buſie or troubleſome. In health, you will not be angry with one, who ſhall bring you an excellent Preſervative; nor in ſickneſs with him, who preſents you a ſure and ſafe remedy, neither would you reject either. Have but the ſame concernment for your ſouls, as you wear for your bodies, and do in this caſe, as you would in that. (3.) Whereas in our Sermons, we, for the moſt part, *ſhoot* much *at a peradventure*, and being to *hit* the general conditions of men, cannot *level* alwayes ſo particularly at ſome private concerns as is needful; and whereas it has been made evident, that the private direction of conſcience was one of the Eldeſt kinds of Preaching, if therefore there be any thing of conſiderable moment, either *in our Sermons*, which our Auditours have not underſtood, or are not duely ſatisfied with,

or

or *in their own conditions*, which we have not touched, let them not indulge a fooliſh modeſty to their own injury, but in private have recourſe to us for ſuch more particular advice and ſatisfaction, which *they* need, and we cannot give them in the Pulpit. Laſtly, let me humbly crave of our people, that if in any caſe, their judgments and their Teachers come into competition upon equal evidence of Argument on both ſides (as they apprehend) they would prefer their Teachers judgments before their own. The reaſonableneſs hereof is founded in this, that the Teacher has *authority* from God, and ſo may be preſumed to have more of the *Divine guidance:* beſides, he is *bound*, as he will anſwer the contrary at Gods great Tribunal, to *teach the Truth*, and nothing but it, to his beſt knowledge; he has *long given* himſelf to *ſearch the Truth*, he *ſees the dependances* of one Truth on others, and ſo is better able to determine difficulties by the Analogy or *proportion of Faith*, than ſuch, who perhaps *ſeeing but few things* comparatively, and not conſidering all

they ſee, *eaſily pronounce* ſentence. And as to our *ſincerity*, if men will imagine us to have any conſcience, they cannot judge us ſo fond of Errours, as for the love of them, to venture together the damnation of our own ſouls, and of all thoſe which God will require at our hands.

Could we prevail in theſe few reaſonable requeſts, it were to be hoped, our Preaching would have, in a manner, as great ſucceſs as we could wiſh: and though we have not the advantage of Inſpiration, or Miraculous Gifts, yet our people would not be without the advantage of a *Nobler* Faith, than moſt had even in the inſpired times; & particularly they would enjoy the Bleſſing belonging to thoſe, *who having not ſeen, have yet believed.* But though we ſhould be ſo unhappy as not to ſucceed, yet we may not therefore ſlacken our Diligence: we know not how ſoon the caſe may change, nay, we know not how far we have ſucceeded already. Sometimes the *ſeed ſprings and grows up* no man *knows how.* However, our reward depends not upon our ſucceſs, but upon

on our endeavours and fidelity: Supposing these, *Though Israel be not gathered, yet shall we be glorious in the eyes of the Lord, and our God shall be our strength.* Possibly we may some of us think this but mean felicity to be safe alone, but in *thus doing* we may reasonably hope *to save both our selves, and those that hear us.* And accordingly thou

O Lord, save thy People,
And bless thy Clergy.

FINIS.

The REVIEW.

Every man (eſpecially if of the Function I am of) is bound to do, what in conſcience he thinks he can, for the *publick good*; This is all the Plea I have for writing on theſe Subjects: And if men are not either *diſorderly troubleſome*, or abominably *ſelf-flatterers*, their *Endeavours* of this kind amongſt all good men are uſually *well accepted*, or *eaſily pardoned*; This has made me hope, with the better ſort, a *candid Reception*.

For even as to thoſe particulars wherein I may ſeem moſt to have exceeded what became my condition and place, and eſpecially in the *preſumption* of the *Dedication*, I can ſafely avow, next to the paying the Duty I owe to their Eminencies, I had no more ſolemn end therein, than by putting my Book into ſo *great hands*, to *ſecure* its doing *all the ſervice* 'tis capable of. If my Zeal for Reall and Regular Devotion may conciliate to this my Ambition, and to the other Freedom I have uſed, a favourable cenſure, I ſhall rejoice: if it do not, ſuch is the uprightneſs of my intention, that whatever ſhall be the ſucceſs, I have nothing to repent of in my Undertaking (as far as I know) but my inſufficient Performances.

Of theſe poſſibly there is no man more intimately ſenſible than my ſelf.

—Plurima cerno
Me quoque, qui ſcripſi, judice, digna lini.

It is much easier to satisfie an Auditory with a Sermon, than the World with a Book: and were I to write this over again, there are not a few things which I would change, others which I would strike out, and more that I would supply.

But the Alterations I could desire, I would not have understood touching any Doctrinals I maintain, or the Expedients I offer to publick benefit: my meaning is onely touching particular expressions, diverse superfluous repetitions, allegations, proofs, and some punctilio's, which yet, it may be, all men will not take notice of. What of this nature I judge most obnoxious to mistake, I will here set down, and together observe to my Reader some Escapes, which are not my own.

And first, every mans eye will inform him, that the Character which the Printer had to use, being somewhat old and worn, there are several letters and syllables very blind, or scarce appearing, some not at all, which, from the sense, the judicious Reader may easily be able to supply. The Passage I have observed, at which any can be most at a loss, is page 186. lin. penult. *of winning*.

To the same Original many ill Punctations are to be referred: for having not sufficient variety of *points* of the same size with the *letter*, the Printer has used sometimes those he had belonging to another *letter*. As an instance I give page 5. line 19. where to an *Italian* letter is put a *Text*-letter-period, and the period too destructive of the sense: for redress, I desire it be read thus----*also*, it is plain by the Process of his discourse, that ----

Next, which is a fault of my own, writing with

a great deal of freedom, I have ſometimes uſed, as ſome may reaſonably judge, too much liberty even with words, and taken them otherwiſe than in their moſt proper and artificial ſenſe. Of this nature my uſe of the word *Faculty*, *pag.* 39. *lin.* 22. has been by ſome thought, where I call the Gift of Prayer a *Faculty*. Nothing was leſs in my thoughts, than to intimate thereby that it is a Faculty, as by that name we mean *Potentia naturalis*: for I afterwards call it an *Habit*, an *Ability*. In all ſuch caſes, let one term be taken as explicatory of the other, and let none *make me an offender for a word*. It is hard to be always ſo accurate in our expreſſions, as not ſometimes *loqui cum vulgo*. Thus too page 720, I affirm ſome mens Ordination *Null*, and in the next line ſpeaking more complyingly, call it *imperfect*: I underſtand thereby ſuch *imperfection* as in our preſent caſe makes it Null.

Again, as to our *Greek* Character, it is very ſmall, blind and old, and therefore many times bad accents, acutes for graves, aſpirates for lenes, ſome falſe, ſome abounding letters have ſlipt in. Had the Preſs here more incouragement, it would be better furniſhed.

Alſo in what *Hebrew* words occur, there are ſome miſtakes, and eſpecially ׳ put for ׳ more than once. page 220. l. 9. and pag: 649. l: 22.

Further, our Paper being ſomewhat of the leaſt, and the Margin very ſmall, the Citations which are in the Margin are often imperfect, and ſometimes by the Printer totally omitted. But I can ſafely affirm my ſelf to have uſed great faithfulneſs in citing Authours, and to have alledged very few paſſages out

of any which I have not ſeen. The chief, and all that come to my knowledge, I will ingenuouſly confeſs. *Pag.* 94. I cite St. *Auſtin* upon the credit of Dr. *Heylin*, producing thoſe words out of him, *Hiſt. of Liturg. ch.* 5. *ſect.* 9. But though I have not found thoſe very words in St. *Auſtin*, yet I have obſerved the paſſage of *Surſum Corda* in St. *Auſtin* ſeven or eight times mentioned, as uſuall in the Liturgies of his dayes. Particularly in his firſt Tome, in his Book *De ver. Relig. Quotidie per univerſum orbem genus humanum unâ pæne voce reſpondet ſurſum corda habere ad Dominum.* Again, *Tom.* 2. *Epiſt.* 156. *Ad Probam.* And very often otherwiſe, both in his *Sermons* and Expoſitions. Again, ſeveral of the *Rabbies* I have cited upon the credit of men much verſed in the Rabbinical learning: but then I have generally named thoſe men, whoſe authority I rely on, in the Margin or Text; otherwiſe I have read thoſe Paſſages my ſelf. But I muſt acknowledge want of leiſure, and indeed, of thoſe kind of Books, makes me too much a Rabby at ſecond hand.

In my tranſlating Authours, I have not alwayes render'd word for word, for neither do I like it; but, I have not wittingly falſified any one Paſſage of any Authour whatſoever, but have ſtill been faithful, as I conceived, to the ſenſe. Thus in that Text of *Origen*'s, *pag.* 97. *Eorum quæ geruntur in Baptiſmo, verborum geſtorumque, & ordinum atque interrogationum*, &c. I have rendred *Geſtorum*, Geſtures, not miſtaking it for *Geſtuum*, but becauſe, *quæ geruntur* juſt preceding, I could not, without Tautology, render it literally, and can conceive the Father meant nothing thereby, but ſome exteriour rites

and

and bodily acts then uſed in Baptiſm, which I knew not how more fitly to expreſs than by *geſtures*. The like liberty it may be obſerved, I have taken upon like occaſions in other places.

Scimus & hanc veniam, petimuſque damuſque ---

Indeed my caution in avowing or diſavowing any point to have been ſuch or ſuch an Authour's judgment has been ſuch, that I cannot vindicate it ſometimes from a poor and mean diffidence to my own ſenſe. I will give one inſtance. I have taken notice *page* 316 of *Luthers* authority againſt Inſtrumentall Muſick alledged out of H. *Eckard* his *Faſcic: Controv. Theolog.* by the Pſeudonymous Authour of the *Apology* for the *Ejected Engliſh Miniſters*. Obſerving the manner of both thoſe Writers citing *Luther* to this purpoſe, I was confident that the one never read in *Luther*, what he ſaies as from him, and that the other had onely a confuſed memory of ſomewhat he had read in him, which at randome he thought might be interpreted againſt Church-muſick (as it was objected by one *Anbaldinus*) but either knew not where to find it, or did not, when he wrote, conſult it. All this while I had the very Text in *Luther*, which I was, and am confident, they blindly aimed at, in my hand and eye. Yet becauſe two Writers affirm, and give me no more particular advantage to try their ſincerity, than to read over ſeven large *Folio*'s, I would not anſwer, as in my conſcience I think I might, *Non eſt ſcriptum*, *Luther* never ſaid ſo; but if any be of the ſame mind with me, and think my diſtruſt of my own ſearch to be either too modeſt or too cautious, they may be pleaſed to add *page* 318. after *line* 14. as follows.

Though

Though this answer may suffice, yet till Writers, who avouch great names at such randome, will be pleased to satisfie the Worldby more particular Citations, that they neither abuse themselves nor others, as I have shewn in part, and can abundantly detect, *Irenæus Philalethes* does, I will deal a little more boldly, and say, I do not believe, but both of them father upon *Luther* what he never either writ, or said. And, for my own justification, I will produce the Text of *Luther*, which I am well convinced the one of them, who does not use to conceal his reading, never lookt on, and both of them found their assertion on, if on any in his Works commonly extant. The passage is in his *Formul. Miss. & Commun. pro Eccles.* Wittemberg. Which Book, after its Preface, begins with a *Profession*, that he never designed to *aholish* the whole *Order of Worship* then in use in the *Roman* Church, but *pessimis additamentis vitiatum repurgare, & pium usum monstrare*; "To purge it from the vile additions, "with which it was corrupted, and to shew its "godly use. He then shews how simple the practice of our Lord, and of his Apostles, was in the administration of the Holy Supper. He then tells us, how far from blame the Prayers and Hymns, which the Primitive and Antient Fathers added, were. But, in the degenerating age of the Church, he miserably complains [*Ubi jam licentia fiebat augendi & mutandi prout cuivis libebat, accedente tum & quæstus & ambitionis sacerdotalis tyrannide, tum cæperunt Altaria illa & Insignia* Baal, *& omnium deorum poni in Templum Domini*] "When once the trick was brought "in of adding and changing as men pleased in the

Offic

"Office of the Communion, through the Tyranny "of the Prieſts ambition, and their deſire of filthy "lucre, then begun thoſe Altars, and the Images "or Enſigns of *Baal*, and all the Gods, to be put "into the Temple of the Lord. In the buſineſs of Church-muſick, what have we to do with the Furniture of Popiſh Altars? Who ever heard of Organs upon Altars? I profeſs, I can no more endure a Rood-loft, nor yet the abominations which adorn the Romiſts Altars than *Luther*. But ſtill what's this to Organs? God grant ſome men either *Brains* or *Foreheads*, and they'l never cite thus.

But to go on: After a long Catalogue of abuſes brought in to the Communion, after complaints *De Canone lacero & abominabili---Collectis mercenariis* ---making the Communion *Monopolium Sacerdotum*---ſaying Maſſes *pro defunctis*, *pro itineribus*, *pro opibus*, &c. he challenges it as a difficult point, *Titulos ſolos numerare quorum Miſſa factum eſt ſacrificium*: After taxing theſe, I ſay, and diverſe other corruptions, and Eſſentiall depravations of that Holy inſtitution, he has theſe words, which I conceive to be the paſſage meant. *Nam Additamenta externa veſtium, cereorum, pallarum, deinde Organorum & totius Muſicæ---quid dicam? Nihil erat*, &c. "To what "purpoſe ſhould I ſpeak of thoſe outward Additions "of Veſſels, Tapers, Palls, and then of Organs, "and all the Muſick in uſe in the Maſs? There was "nothing of *Artifice* almoſt in all the World, which "could draw either ornament or gain, which was "not uſed to ſet off the Maſs with. It is moſt plain hereby, if *Luther* intended to condemn Organs and Church-muſick at all, it was as abuſed by the Papiſts

piſts in the trausforming the Communion: but ſuch uſe thereof as we have deſcribed, that he never deſigned to condemn, is evident by a multitude of Paſſages following in that very Book, of which I will ſet down ſome. *Kyrie eleeſon, ut hactenus celebratum eſt, variis melodiis, diverſis temporibus, amplectimur.*---He is alſo for the *Quires* ſinging the Gradual with the Hallelujah, for their ſinging the *Nicene* Creed, the *Sanctus*, the *Agnus Dei*, the *Benedicamus Domino*,---*adjecto Hallelujah in ſuis melodiis*: but he would have all theſe in the Mother-tongue. Who ever heard of neer ſo much Muſick in our Communion-Service, as this comes to, which yet *Luther* allows. And to omit other Paſſages, he laments towards the end, *Poetæ & Muſici nobis deſunt*, we yet want Poets and Muſicians which might compoſe for us, and publickly ſing godly Hymns: In a word, theſe are all ſincerely *Luthers* words and ſenſe: But to be plain, *Luther* was not yet clear, what in ſuch outward Decencies he would have ſettled; and therefore though it is moſt evident our Adverſaries abuſe him, when they alledge him abſolutely againſt Church-muſick, and our uſual Cathedral practice, yet, as already inſinuated, in theſe his Books, we lay not ſuch weight on every expreſſion, as to doom any Practice received by us, or the *Lutheran*, as well as other Reformed, Churches, by virtue of it, or for its ſake.

Thus as to that Addition, which I refer to the Readers choice, to make or omit.

There is but one point of any general nature yet remaining, which I would ſuggeſt, and that is, that though theſe Diſcourſes were all of them, as to their ſub-

ſubſtance, framed and pen'd long before the deſign of Printing them, and perhaps ſomewhat in another Form, yet my troubleſome Emploiments not permitting me the leiſure of timely and mature Tranſcription, I have been forced to ſend all (I can ſcarce ſay) ſheet by ſheet to the Preſs: and many Additions and Alterations offering themſelves, while a man Tranſ-ſcribes, it ſo came to paſs, that *I* could never view all together till *I* ſaw all in Print. (Such is the diſadvantage at which *I* have writ!) And therefore I muſt beg pardon, if now and then ſome connexive or limitative particles be wanting, which expreſly appearing, would make all more plain and conſiſtent. I am very clear to my ſelf in my own notions, and I could wiſh *I* had made, or could make, them ſo to all: I do believe I could have done it, had I the happineſs (which ſome have too much of) call'd Leiſure. But ſeeing it is as it is, I deſire the Reader will not cenſure me as inconſiſtent with my ſelf for any paſſages of this nature which he may obſerve, whether I have ſet them down in the enſuing amendments, or not. If any man ſhall duely convince me of an errour, there ſhall be no one who will more willingly acknowledge and retract than my ſelf: Onely I deſire I may be dealt with in as much temper I have ſhewn.

Be pleaſed therefore to amend as follows.

Pag: 15. lin: 9. Read *Acts:* II. v. 16. p: 55. l. 4. read *paroxyſms.* p. 56. l. 1. for *Promiſe* r. *Premiſe.* p. 58. l. 23. for *Readily* r. *Really.* p. 60. over againſt l. 3. in the *Margin*, adde *Sect.* 7. p. 62. l. 11. r. *A man, though poſſeſſed* ---. p. 69. Over againſt l. 3. in the *Margin Sect:* 9. p 71. l. 4. Marg: adde Mr. *Tho.*

Long

Long of Exon. p. 73. for *every* read *ever*. p. 84. l. 26. read *possibly*. p. 115. l. last read, *as much*. p. 119. 22, r. *ordinarily in use*. p. 174. r. best. p. 179. l. 3. Adde, *To*. p. 212. over against l. 2. adde in the Margin, *Sect*. 2. p. 218. l. 23. adde after *as*, *I am apt to think*--p. 225. l. 18. r. 1. *Cor*. XIV. p. 198. l. 2. r. *Art*, *and in Humane*--- p 230. l. 21. After *Endlesse Authorities* adde, Both Antient and Modern; of which because the Modern ones will sway most with some men, I will therefore set down a few of them onely. p. 24[illegible] l. 2. and again p. 251. l. 2. and in severall other places in this discourse, which the intelligent reader will easily perceive by the sense, for *Consen*r. *Concent*. p. 270. l. 11. r. *Leguntur*.

What I had granted to the judgment of diverse learned men *pag*: 229. *lin*. 25. and in the next whole page, I may seem to have censured a little slightingly, *pag*: 336, if the particular design of my discourse in each place be not distinctly attended. I allow in the former place, that the word Psalmes, when used in the new Testament, *is conceived*, *and that with great reason*, *to have commonly a particular reference to the book of Psalms*: and in particular, that the *Hymn* sung by our Lord and his disciples at the last Passeover he kept was, in all probability, the *Great Hallelujah*; adding, that I see no inconveniency to interpret the Psalms spoken of by St *Paul*, *Ephes*: V. 19. and *Coloss*. III. 16. or by St. *James* cap. V-13. (all which places, by the by, proceed onely of private and occasionall Psalmody,) touching *Davids Psalms chiefly or especially*: Yet in the latter place, where I discourse of the Original,

or

or first commencement, of singing the whole book of Psalms in orderly course as we do at present in our Church, (and again too, pag. 352.) I seem to slight some mens interpreting those places *meerly* of *Davids* Psalms, and call other opinions, that bear proportion therewith (as namely, that our Lord used the whole two and twentieth Psalm, when he hung upon the crosse, or even the Great Hallelujah, at his last supper) onely *conjectures*, *Probables of the lowest rank, and so bad Arguments* to prove the thing in hand. I affirm further, It is certain the *Publick Hymns* in the Primitive Christian Church were fitted to the then present estate by the *Holy Ghost*. In all these things, I am very constant to my own notions if I be aright apprehended. That the term Psalms, when the Apostle bids the faithfull to *Teach, speak to and admonish one another in Psalms*, to the end *The word of God may dwell plentifully in them*, may be interpreted of, or chiefly applied to, the book of Psalms, I see no reason to oppose: but that both that term, and the other two, *Hymns* and *Spirituall songs*, are to be understood solely thereof I do not see any Logick or Grammar renders so much as highly Probable; and therefore if this intrepretation be *probable*, it must be onely *in the lowest rank*. Again, I am as fully perswaded, that our Lord on the crosse used the Initiall words of the two and twentieth Psalm, as that he was crucified; but that he then used the whole, or the greatest part of that Psalm, I can scarce look upon as probable: I could therefore give these *conjectures* no more favourable name, than that of *Probables of the lowest rank*, that is, onely not impossible. Lastly as to the *Great*

Halle-

Hallelujah, it is moſt likely indeed our Lord might uſe it: for celebrateing a Jewiſh feaſt after the Jewiſh faſhion, and amongſt the Jewiſh people, who can think but he uſed the uſuall Jewiſh Hymn? which (at leaſt, as yet) was no wiſe improper. But to argue thus, Becauſe one term may with good reaſon be applied chiefly to *Davids* Pſalms, therefore both it and two more were expreſsly deſigned touching them; or to derive the Orderly ſinging the whole book of Pſalms in courſe, either from our Lords, or his and his Diſciples, occaſionall uſeing ſome ſmall paſſages or parcels out of it; or from thence, that the Apoſtles probably did preſcribe to the Primitive Chriſtians that they ſhould ſpeak to, teach and admoniſh one another in the words of thoſe Pſalms, as occaſion privately offered, is *Bad Logick*, as a man need to be guilty of. A thing may be true, and yet not a fit argument to prove all, for which it ſhall be pleaded. And this was truly my ſenſe

As to the number of Pſalms, which make up the great Hallelujah, I have indeed expreſsly varied, allotting thereto ſix Pſalms pag: 230. and but five pag: 336. but for this variation I have great authours to produce; and which party are in the right, I acknowledg my ſelfe not able to determin; haveing, as before complained, neither leiſure to ſearch the Originall books, from whence theſe authours pretend to derive this tradition, nor indeed the bookes themſelves. All I can ſay is, that diligently peruſeing thoſe Pſalms I judged moſt probable, that it conſiſted onely of five, *viz.* Pſalm 114, 115, 116, 117, 118: but herein I durſt not be confident

fident, and therefore made uſe of both opinions; onely that which I thought moſt likely I put laſt, as my Second thoughts; makeing my judgment herein from the ſubject matter of the Pſalms. If on the other ſide we will judge from the name הלל הגדול or the *Great Hallelujah*, it is moſt probable this Hymn begun with Pſ: 113. whoſe firſt word is הללויה whereas the 114th begins otherwiſe. But what ſhall we ſay to a third opinion, produced out of the famous *Rambam*? The *great Hallelujah* ſaies he begins with the Pſalm *Celebrate dominum, viz.* 118. and ends the firſt Pſalm of degrees, or Pſalm 120. Learn. *Druſius* would not undertake to determin the caſe, but left it to the more learned (*Vid. Drus:* in *Matthew:* XXVI. 30.) and ſo do I.

Pag: 356. l. 4. r. I deſire. Pag: 371. l. 20. After *fall*, adde, This was long ago the ſenſe of *Gregory* the Great in this particular: *Pſalmiſta non optantis animo ſed prophetantis miniſterio denunciat.* Paſtoral: Cur. cap 1.

Pag: 436. l. 19. r. 1, *Chron:* VI. Pag: 451. l. 23. r. to be conſidered. p. 467. l. penult. r. *Quæſt. & Reſpons. ad Orthodox.* p. 480. l. 8. *dele* nay. pag: 489. in the Margin overagainſt l. 20. Adde *Conſtitut: Apoſtolic.* lib: 2 cap. 57. p: 502. l. *ult.* r. came a long time after. pag. 521. over againſt. l. 14. in the Margin. add. *Rabb. Dav. R. Menahem.* &c. *vid Pagnin. ad vocem.* p. 528. l. *ult.* r. *quos.* Pag 563 l. 8. Add in the Margin Sect. 8. p. 569. in the Marg: r. *Sect:* 9. p. 596. l. 22. r. ſifting. p. 642. l. 10. r. moſt happily p. 653. l. penult. r. *determining thoſe mentioned, or any ſuch like, little difficulties, that he reproved their ſuperſtitious and hypocritical ſollicitude touching them,*

and

and professedly. p. 670. l. *ult:* r. parts. p. 675 l. 15. r. Father. Pag 696. l: 11. In the Margu add. Sect. 4.

Since my committing to the presse this last part, there has been put into my hands, what a learned man of our Church some few yeares ago has written, a little contrary to what I have mainteined. Had I read it before, my book should have answered the main considerables therein; here I must not take such scope as it requires. Wherefore in a word I professe, I am glad, a man of his reading could find no more to say in the case, and declare my ... rather confirmed, than shaken, by what ever he p... duces, which was new to me; and am ready ... satisfy the world, whensoever any occasion sha... be given me, as to the particular authorities alledged by him; which are few, some of them blind and slighty, the rest boldly used, to say no worse. Could some men (whose ashes were together made such, and hallowed, in the flames of martyrdome) now speak, they would give him no thankes for wounding that Church, which they nursed by their own bloud, through their sides; and that by the publication of some immature and opineing Essaies of theirs, for their full advised sentiments. I pray God all his papers and mine may escape such dealing, Pag. 732. l. 11. r. not at all. pag: 776. l: 10. r. *a thing.*

There are diverse other literall faults which I thought not worth troubling the judicious reader with; and perhaps some more materiall ones, which have escaped either my observation, or my memory: As to these, though I have divers more just

juſt Apologies, than I could wiſh I had, yet I ſhall onely deſire all my readers will be pleaſed to remember, whoſe words thoſe are, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo unto them,* and neither cenſure, nor interpret otherwiſe.